

ARE SOCIAL MEDIA EMANCIPATORY OR HEGEMONIC? SOCIETAL EFFECTS OF MASS MEDIA DIGITIZATION IN THE CASE OF THE SOPA DISCOURSE¹

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*Mass media digitization is an unfolding phenomenon, posing novel societal opportunities and challenges that researchers are beginning to note. We build on and extend MIS research on process digitization and digital versus traditional communication media to study **how and to what extent social media**—one form of digital mass media—are **emancipatory** (i.e., permitting wide-spread participation in public discourse and surfacing of diverse perspectives) **versus hegemonic** (i.e., contributing to ideological control by a few). While a pressing concern to activists and scholars, systematic study of this issue has been elusive, owing partially to the complexity of the emancipation and hegemony concepts. Using a case study approach, we iteratively engaged with data on the discourse surrounding the Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA) and source literature to identify six facets of **interpretive media packages** (i.e., competing social constructions of an issue) as measurable constructs pertinent to emancipation and hegemony. These facets included three **structural constraints** (on authorship, citation, and influence) and three **content restrictions** (on frames, signatures, and emotion). We investigated propositions regarding effects of social versus traditional media and lean versus rich social media on these interpretive media package facets by comparing the SOPA discourse across two lean traditional and social media (newspapers and Twitter) and two rich traditional and social media (television and YouTube). Our findings paradoxically revealed social media to be emancipatory with regard to structural constraints, but hegemonic with regard to an important content restriction (i.e., frames). Lean social media mitigated structural advantages and exacerbated content problems. These findings suggest that, as with traditional media, some inevitable evils accompany the societal benefits of social media and that mass media is having a detrimental effect on public discourse. We offer practical steps by which private and public institutions may counter this effect, theoretical implications for wider consideration of the six interpretive media package facets proposed here, and encouragement to MIS researchers to increase their efforts to compare different digitized processes so that a more comprehensive theory of the effects of different forms of digitized processes can be developed.*

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Introduction

In order to enjoy the inestimable benefits that the liberty of the press ensures, it is necessary to submit to the inevitable evils that it creates.

de Tocqueville (1873, p. 183)

The MIS discipline has a long tradition of investigating digitized versus traditional processes. This tradition is visible in research on interpersonal and organizational communication (Foster and Flynn 1984; Markus 1994), meeting support and workgroup collaboration (Dennis et al. 1988; Orlikowski 2000), group and individual decision making (Todd and Benbasat 1992; Zigurs et al. 1988), and learning and education (Alavi et al. 1995; Leidner and Jarvenpaa 1995). A second tradition that permeates MIS research on interpersonal and organizational communication is the investigation of lean versus rich media (Daft et al. 1987; Lee 1994; Carlson and Zmud 1999). Typically studied within the context of economic and state bureaucracies, these studies have focused on how process digitization and media richness contribute to organizational efficiency and effectiveness. Recently, shifting focus to societal consequences of digitization, MIS researchers have studied arenas such as political campaigning (Wattal et al. 2010), organizing activism (Benjamin et al. 2014), and managing crises (Majchrzak and More 2011; Nan and Lu 2014; Oh et al. 2013).

In this manuscript, we build on and extend these two traditions by considering societal impacts of a new arena of digitization: mass communication and public discourse, that is, *the information flow and conversation around a socio-political issue*. Investigating these impacts is important because mass media coverage influences legislative and policy agendas of presidents and of Congress directly and indirectly (Edwards and Wood 1999; McAdam and Su 2002; Walgrave et al. 2007), and legitimizes administrations' policies to the public (Bishop 2004).

Our research objective is to understand how and to what extent digital mass media are emancipatory (i.e., *permitting widespread participation in public discourse and surfacing of diverse perspectives*) versus hegemonic (i.e., *contributing to ideological control by a few*). We focus on social media, a special case of digital media. Murthy (2012, p. 3) noted,

social media are mainly conceived of as a medium wherein "ordinary" people in ordinary social net-

works (as opposed to professional journalists) can create user-generated "news."

Because of this capability of enabling a wider range of participants and perspectives in discourse about issues of public concern, social media are viewed as emancipatory (Castells 2007; DiMaggio et al. 2001). However, social media also can create "filter bubbles," exposing people only to content that supports their preexisting beliefs (Pariser 2011), thereby polarizing public opinion. As nearly two billion people worldwide use social media (Wright 2013), it is especially critical to study the societal impacts of digitization systematically. The questions we seek to answer are:

RQ1: How do social media afford emancipation or hegemony of public discourse?

RQ2: To what extent do social media—compared to traditional media—afford emancipation versus hegemony, and lean versus rich social media afford emancipation/hegemony?

The venue within which we address these questions is the 2011–2012 discourse about the Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA). Appendix A provides an overview of the proposed legislation and surrounding discourse. Media coverage of SOPA, which pitted interests of traditional and digital media companies against each other, provided an ideal context for our study. Had both groups not been so motivated to participate in the discourse—as happens with many other legislative proposals—our opportunity to observe media biases and advancement of competing interpretive packages would have been limited.

Befitting a research arena with little *a priori* knowledge about meaningful constructs or extant measures (Benbasat et al. 1987), we adopted a case study approach. This approach can be used for developing and testing theory (Markus 1989). Because studies of contentious politics rest on a deep understanding of context (Tilly 1984), we began by exploring activities by the actors most visible in the SOPA discourse (e.g., Wikipedia and Google) using a snowball approach to identify 52 key actors. We developed narratives on the activities of each of these actors.² We then addressed our first

²To maximize information capture and minimize interpretative biases, two authors developed a narrative (from websites, press releases, articles, tweets, and videos) on each actor. We generated about 1,075 single-spaced pages of

question through iterative engagement with these narratives and knowledge from sociology, politics, and communication. This culminated in a framework that focused our empirical investigation on the *structure and content of interpretive media packages* (i.e., *competing social constructions of the meaning surrounding an issue*). To answer our second question, informed by prior MIS literature, we developed propositions about the impacts of social versus traditional media and lean versus rich social media on the structure and content of interpretive media packages. We tested these propositions on data compiled from the SOPA discourse across digital versus traditional and lean versus rich media (i.e., newspapers, television, Twitter, and YouTube).

MIS scholars have called for research on how digital media can emancipate, rather than just rationalize, human lives (Hirschheim and Klein 1994; Lucas et al. 2013). In answering this call, we make two key contributions. First, we clarify and extend the literature on societal impacts of digital media on communication by offering clearer conceptual distinctions among extant constructs and augmenting the set of constructs investigated in relation to digital media. We situate these concepts in a framework of societal impacts of digital media on emancipation of public discourse. Second, finding that social media emancipate communication structurally, but impose hegemony on content, we uncover a paradox highlighting need for further research on societal impacts of mass media digitization. We also note the practical implications of our work for activists, policy makers, and digital media platform owners interested in understanding how to harness digital mass media for collective action.

A Framework for Studying Effects of Mass Media Digitization

Emancipation and hegemony are large, complex constructs. Studying them systematically necessitates identifying their “component parts” within the context of their investigation (Cerny 2006, p. 67). To identify intermediate constructs meaningful to the study of digital emancipation and hegemony, we first coupled preliminary data investigations with a review of literature on the societal functions and dysfunctions of mass media. (See Appendix B for an overview of the literature.) This led us to focus on interpretive media pack-

ages, that is, *the structure (how people interact) and content (what people say) of a news account*, as the constitutive components of emancipation and hegemony of public discourse. In Figure 1, we provide a framework linking the focal facets of interpretive media packages to five societal functions and three dysfunctions of mass media. Functions are the *inclusion* of diverse participants, *democratization* of processes, *truth exposure*, individuals’ facility for *creative expression*, and *community enhancement*. Dysfunctions ensue from media’s *selection*, *source*, and *framing biases*.

An *interpretive media package* (interpretive package, for short) is a *discourse participant’s social construction of an issue*, oriented toward justifying the status quo or a desired change (d’Anjou 1996). Through interpretive packages, media organizations influence public understanding of an issue and compete for taken-for-grantedness of their agendas (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Gamson and Stuart 1992). Discourse manifesting unconstrained and diverse packages reflects emancipation, while discourse manifesting constrained and restricted packages reflects hegemony. Below, we briefly discuss each facet of interpretive packages appearing in Figure 1 and the societal conditions they engender. In Figure 1 and in our discussions below, we note only direct impacts of interpretive package facets on societal conditions. In addition, the discourse conditions considered can have indirect, ripple effects, not noted in Figure 1. For example, by broadening inclusion, favorable discourse conditions also increase opportunities for democratization as the range of community perspectives on an issue are made available for rational discourse; by enhancing rational discourse, favorable discourse conditions also increase opportunities for surfacing the truth.

Interpretive Package Structure: Authorship, Citation, and Influence

Traditional mass media network enactments reveal the structure posited by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1964), depicted in Figure 2A. This structure has three facets. First, mass media may impose **authorship constraints** by limiting the interpretive packages disseminated. Authorship constraints increase selection bias, that is, the possibility that a newsworthy story inimical to media interests will not be covered. They decrease inclusion, as authorship is limited to those controlling the means of production, that is, those who own media companies, and those permitted authorship (through mechanisms such as letters to editors) by media owners. Authorship constraints also suppress exposure of truths inimical to media interests.

text and screen shots, which informed our focal concepts, data selection (i.e., which digital media to study and the study period), data collection (e.g., identifying key missing data), metrics constructed, and data interpretation (e.g., associating individual actors with organizations and organizations with their parent company).

EMANCIPATORY/HEGEMONIC MEDIA POTENTIAL (SCOPE OF EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION)			SOCIETAL FUNCTIONS/DYSFUNCTIONS (RATIONALE FOR INVESTIGATING INTERPRETIVE PACKAGE FACET)		
Media	→	Interpretive Package	→	Increases	+ Reduces
Lean versus rich social media versus traditional media	Structure	Unconstrained authorship		▪ Inclusion ▪ Truth exposure	▪ Selection bias
		Unconstrained citation		▪ Democratization ▪ Truth exposure ▪ Community enhancement	▪ Source bias
		Unconstrained influence		▪ Democratization ▪ Community enhancement	—
	Content	Unrestricted frames		▪ Democratization ▪ Truth exposure	▪ Framing bias
		Unrestricted signatures		▪ Democratization ▪ Creative expression ▪ Community enhancement	—
		Unrestricted emotion		▪ Inclusion ▪ Democratization ▪ Community enhancement	—

Figure 1. A Framework for Investigating Media Effects on Emancipation and Hegemony

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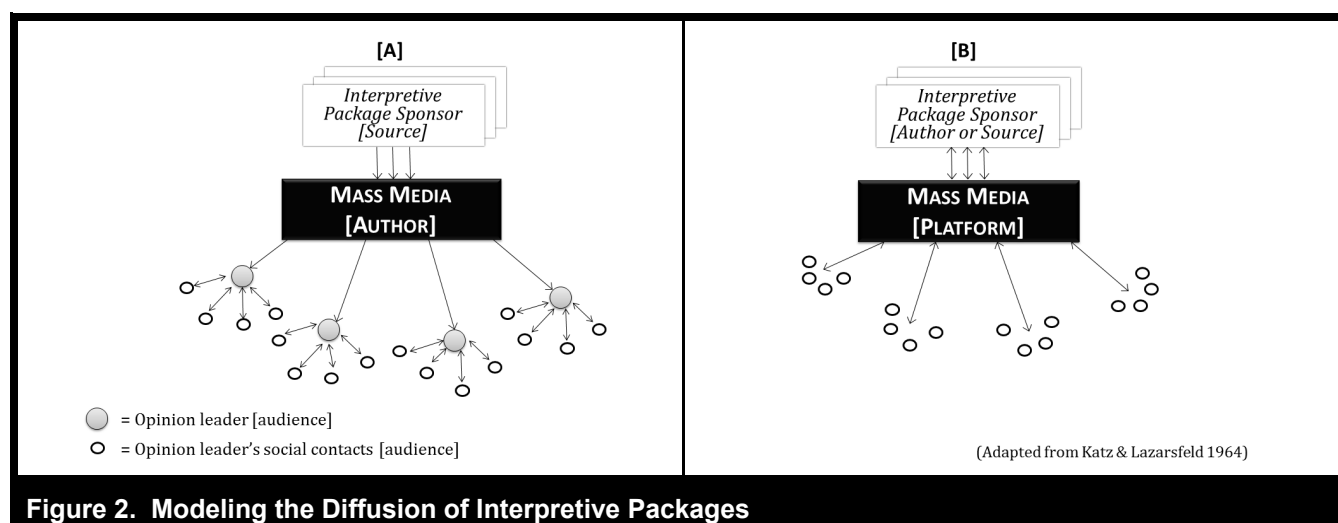


Figure 2. Modeling the Diffusion of Interpretive Packages

Second, mass media mediate between message sponsors and the public who consume the news. Mediation represents a potential source **citation constraint**, wherein prospective sponsors of interpretive packages—or sources, such as actors interviewed or quoted (Gamson and Stuart 1992)—are recognized solely at the behest of media organization owners. Citation constraints increase the likelihood of a source bias (i.e., the tendency to use convenient rather than relevant sources and to use sources representing the interests of the media organizations rather than those of the broader public). By curtailing inputs to public discourse, source citation constraints stymie democratization through rational discourse

and limit the public's ability to uncover the truth. They also are detrimental to a sense of community, as the discourse represents only a subset of the public's identity and values.

Third, through opinion leaders, who directly consume reported news and diffuse it through their social circles, influence in public discourse can be concentrated with mass media. Such **influence constraints** limit democratization, because influence is limited to power elites. Influence constraints undermine community enhancement, as emergent leaders are unable to promote community and mobilize actors around common goals.

Recent empirical evidence, while supporting Katz and Lazarsfeld's posited mediating role of news media in public awareness of an issue, found little support for a secondary role of opinion leaders (Andrews and Biggs 2006). This may be attributable as much to the increasing availability of local and international news (George and Waldfogel 2006) as to increasing erosion of personal networks (Putnam 1995). Digital mass media also afford disintermediation and feedback (Yetgin et al. 2012), suggesting an alternate communication model (Figure 2B), which depicts mass media as a platform, rather than an author. Unlike Figure 2A, Figure 2B features two-way arrows to represent digital mass media's affordance of feedback and two-way communication, and omits local network connections in line with Andrews and Biggs's (2006) findings on secondary mediation.

Interpretive Package Content: Frames, Signatures, and Emotion

Mass media researchers have specified the content facets of an interpretive package as a frame or "a central organizing idea" and a signature element, that is, symbolic devices that enhance resonance of the frame (Gamson and Stuart 1992, p. 59). Communication researchers also highlight the emotional content of messages as "affectively loaded information [that] exerts an influence on...the judgmental process...coloring the judgmental outcome" (Forgas 1995, p. 39).

A **frame** "is a device for organizing material that emphasizes some aspects of an issue...and downplays or ignores others" (Fredin 2001, p. 269). Frames "help people understand complex issues" (Soule 2009, p. 42), but also bias their perspectives to align with those of framers, who accentuate certain information and de-emphasize other (Benford and Snow 2000). Benford and Snow (2000) identified three framing tasks. *Diagnostic framing* entails identifying the source of the problem and assessing blame (p. 616). *Prognostic framing* entails predictions about future states given the framer's assessment of the problem. *Motivational framing* entails what Benford and Snow (p. 617) termed a "call to arms."

Unrestricted framing, which exposes alternate perspectives on what is wrong/who is to blame, possible future states, and courses of action, reduces framing biases, thereby increasing democratization through rational discourse. Since exposure to multiple frames increases knowledge, unrestricted frames increase the likelihood of truth exposure (Ball-Rokeach 1985).

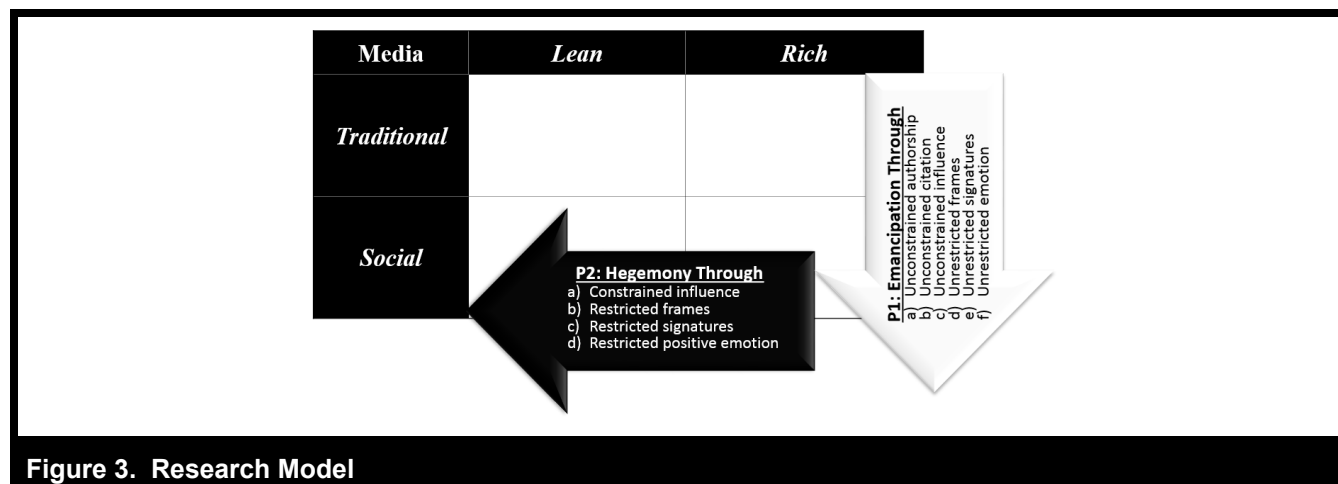
Signature elements (**signatures** for short) are condensing symbols that display the package frame (Gamson and Lasch 1981). Gamson and his colleagues identified five types of

signatures. *Metaphors* attach meaning to the issue being framed by linking it to something unrelated, but intrinsically meaningful to the audience, using "pre-fabricated vocabularies or schemas" (Fiss and Hirsch 2005, p. 31). *Exemplars* are current or historical events used to illustrate frames. Exemplars personalize an issue by describing its bearing on specific individuals' experiences (Polletta and Lee 2006). *Catchphrases* are tag lines or slogans that summarize frames. *Depictions* are characterizations, often colorful, of the key subjects involved in the issue. *Visual images* are physical or virtual icons that represent the frame. Signatures enable creative expression, amplifying frames via "idealization, embellishment, clarification, or invigoration of existing values or beliefs" (Benford and Snow 2000, pp. 624-625). They enhance the traction of associated frames (Gilliam and Iyengar 2000). Metaphor use, when combined with persuasive arguments, increases message influence (Ottati et al. 1999). Visual cues enhance message memorability (Blanco et al. 2010), influence (e.g., Guadagno et al. 2011), and ability to mobilize response (Joffe 2008). These shorthand communication cues thus facilitate democratization through rational discourse. As cultural productions, they enhance community through collective identity (Fayard and DeSanctis 2010).

Emotion infused into interpretive packages influences the public directly, by conveying information about authors' and sources' sentiments which audiences may adopt, and indirectly, by priming audiences' attention to, encoding, and retrieval of the information (Forgas 1995). Positive emotional displays, particularly enthusiasm, activate loyalties and mobilize audience action (Brader 2005). The possibility of "self-validating emotional experiences and expressions" mobilizes actors' participation in collective action, that is, inclusion (Yang 2000, p. 594). Emotion increases prosocial behavior (George and Bettenhausen 1990), thereby facilitating the role-taking essential for democratizing rational discourse, and strengthens group bonds (Barsade and Gibson 1998), thereby enhancing the sense of community. This is particularly true of positive emotional displays (Fischer and Manstead 2008; Smith et al. 2007). Negative emotion has been found to trigger judgments of injustice (Mikula et al. 1998), which also mobilizes response. Fear primes vigilance (Brader 2005), but negative emotions—especially fear—can be paralyzing, discouraging the very actions authors/sponsors may wish to motivate (Cantor and Omdahl 1991).

Conceptualizing Social Media Effects on Emancipation/Hegemony

Focusing on structural and content facets of the interpretive media packages described above, we now develop two sets of



propositions about social media effects on emancipation and hegemony. The white arrow in Figure 3 depicts the first set, that is, how social media affords emancipation of public discourse (P1). The black arrow depicts the second set, that is, how lean social media can afford hegemonic control by power elites (P2).

Emancipation Through Social Media

Unconstrained authorship entails individuals' freedom to participate and to identify novel issues in public discourse. With traditional media, two factors give rise to authorship constraints. First, concentrated media ownership³ constrains issue coverage, particularly when the economic interests of media organizations are in jeopardy (Earl et al. 2004). Second, limited bandwidth is available for covering the breadth of regional, national, and international issues⁴ (Hachten 2005; Potter and Matsa 2014). The resulting authorship constraints manifest in two ways. First, newspapers distance themselves from opinions expressed in letters by outsourcing management of readers' comments (MacMillan 2007), or by printing offensive letters in their online, but not in print, editions (Hlavach and Freivogel 2011). Second, consistent with DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) expectation of

imitation under uncertainty, major national newspapers evince homogeneity in issue coverage and story placement (Lim 2010).

Social media provide a platform for everyday people to participate in citizen journalism (Thorén et al. 2014), a widespread phenomenon (Murthy 2011). Four factors contribute to relaxation of authorship constraints and increased participation on digital media. First, digital media permit parallel input, which small-group (Zigurs et al. 1988) and organizational (Di Gangi et al. 2010) communication research have found facilitated participation. Second, digital media enable anonymity, or its perception, which also increases participation (Kahai et al. 1998). Third, the social nature of digital media promotes participation as individuals are more likely to engage in activities in a social context (Posey et al. 2010). Fourth, widespread access, low costs, and easy-to-use technology promote participation, as evidenced by research on online communities (Butler et al. 2014) and on reader participation in news creation on digital platforms, even in repressive political regimes (Al Saggaf 2006). Easy-to-use technologies especially promote participation by increasing prospective participants' sense of self-efficacy (Ellison and boyd 2013; Ray et al. 2014). Research suggests that digital media reduce participation costs especially for socially disadvantaged groups (Dubrovsky et al. 1991; Gopal et al. 1997). Yet, research suggests that the large-group context of social media may dissuade individuals from participating (Kraut and Resnick 2011). Two factors offset such self-censorship. First, the potential impact individuals can have when addressing a large crowd is expected to motivate social media participation (Burke et al. 2009; Zhang and Zhu 2011). Second, network externality effects enhance one's participation as others in one's social group participate, thereby inducing one's own participation (Wattal et al. 2010).

³In the United States, 90% of traditional news media ownership now is vested with 6 firms and 232 media executives (Lutz 2012). Similar concentration prevails in Europe (Ward 2004).

⁴The estimated 1,500 daily newspapers and 1,200 licensed television stations in the United States (Hachten 2005), while substantial, is limited. Spiraling costs of producing television content further curtail the amount of independently produced content through a variety of news-sharing partnerships, with one in four local stations producing *no* independent content at all (Potter and Matsa 2014).

Social media contributors have been found to prefer discussing topics that are simultaneously unique/novel and popular (Dellarocas et al. 2010). Whereas differentials in individuals' popularity have been found to homogenize digital content posted, similar popularity levels were associated with heterogeneous content (Zeng and Wei 2013). Widespread participation by individuals with disparate popularity levels increases chances that an issue will be surfaced, evidenced by research findings that online news media cover issues that mainstream media eschew (Song 2007).

Proposition 1a: Social media afford emancipation through unconstrained authorship in public discourse, relative to traditional media.

Unconstrained citation refers to the absence of bias in source selection. Such bias emanates from preferences for official, popular, and homophilous sources whose opinions power elites share (Gans 2005). In traditional media, source biases manifest in preferential use of official and routine sources that are convenient and unthreatening to the media organizations' economic interests, thereby curtailing inclusion and discourse (Baylor 1996).

Digital news media have been found less reliant on official sources than are traditional media, in fact, concentrating more on non-official sources (Song 2007). Digital media can reduce source citation constraints in two ways. First, social media facilitate interaction, feedback, and attention to content contributions by others (Majchrzak et al. 2013), thereby increasing the likelihood of their citation. Second, exposure to digital media has been found to reduce biases toward attitude-confirming news (Knobloch Westerwick and Johnson 2014).

As the scale of digital communication increases, scholars have raised concerns about "small world" effects—the tendency for a few sources to enjoy a disproportionate amount of attention—on digital media (Watts 1999). However, empirical work on online communities suggests mechanisms of reciprocity, rather than preferential attachment, prevail online, alleviating small world concerns in choice of online sources (Faraj and Johnson 2011; Johnson et al. 2014). Another concern is that homophily (i.e., the tendency to affiliate with similar others) does persist in virtual communities (Gu et al. 2014). So, too, do inclinations to pay attention to those whose opinions we share (Park et al. 2013) and to view information that reinforces our opinions (Garrett 2009). Nonetheless, since social media increase the range of voices participating in the discourse, homophily tendencies online do not necessarily impede any given individual from being heard by at least a subset of the community.

Proposition 1b: Social media afford emancipation through unconstrained citation in public discourse, relative to traditional media.

Unconstrained influence refers to the ability of any actor to be influential in the discourse. Research has found traditional media to be influential with organizations (Soule 2009), politicians (Edwards and Wood 1999), and the public (Bishop 2004; Wattal et al. 2010), and that influence to be concentrated in the hands of a few (Lutz 2012).

Prior research has found that while the highest-ranking member tends to assume leadership in traditional groups, leadership is emergent in digitally supported groups (Dennis and Garfield 2003). On digital media, *what* people do (i.e., qualitative differences in posting behavior) matters: those who post a large number of positive, concise messages using simple language are more likely to be viewed as leaders (Johnson et al. 2015), suggesting an alleviation of conventional status-based constraints on influence. Thus, research in a variety of contexts—such as small group communication (Zigurs et al. 1988), online brand communities (Goh et al. 2013), and politics (Lüders et al. 2014)—have found influence disparities to diminish with digital communication.

Proposition 1c: Social media afford emancipation through unconstrained influence on public discourse, relative to traditional media.

Unrestricted frames refer to comprehensive and balanced framing. Comprehensive framing entails offering audiences a diagnosis of the situation, a prognosis of possible outcomes, and motivation to pursue an advocated course of action (Benford and Snow 2000). Balance requires that the framer represent opposing perspectives on the focal issue (Entman 2010). Studies of traditional media coverage found institutionalization processes homogenize frames advanced across media (e.g., Entman 2006). In contrast, digital media have been found to enhance the breadth of information shared (Miranda and Saunders 2003), the number of solutions generated (Benbasat and Lim 1993), and output creativity (e.g., Ocker et al. 1995). Research in organizational contexts also has found social media to increase creative inputs (Jarvenpaa and Tuunainen 2013). Such creativity tends to evolve varied and novel frames (Ganz 2004; Steinberg 1999). Substantiating this expectation, a study of news consumption through digital media found readers did not simply consume the news, but rather evolved and transformed it by adding information and changing frames (Im et al. 2011).

Proposition 1d: Social media afford emancipation through unrestricted frames in public discourse, relative to traditional media.

Unrestricted signatures refer to authors' use of interesting, imagery-eliciting, and sensory elements to make messages more "likely to attract and hold our attention and to excite the imagination" (Nisbett and Ross 1980, p. 45). Traditional media coverage uses signatures to attract audiences and charge the discourse (e.g., Gamson and Modigliani 1989).

Social media facilitation of creativity (Jarvenpaa and Tuunainen 2013) foreshadows enhanced signature use. Even lean social media enable unique use of symbols (Oh et al. 2015). Digital campaigns such as the "Haunting of GeoCities" have leveraged evocative cultural productions to mobilize collective action and effect policy change (Gurak and Logie 2003). Signatures on social media become memes, that is, units of cultural production (Dawkins 2006), increasing public awareness of protest frames as they diffuse and evolve (Zuckerman 2014).

Proposition 1e: Social media afford emancipation through unrestricted signatures in public discourse, relative to traditional media.

Unrestricted emotion refers to authors' communication of emotional content, which influences audience judgment by supplying actionable information about others' reactions to an issue or shaping audience attention to, interpretation of, or recall of associated information (Forgas 1995). In traditional media, journalistic professionalism norms and proscriptions of sensationalism dissuade infusion of overt emotional content (e.g., Pantti 2010), leading us to anticipate less emotional content there. Research has attested to communicators' ability to transmit emotional cues on digital media (Rice and Love 1987). In fact, research has observed even more emotional communication via digital media than face-to-face (Derks et al. 2008).

Proposition 1f: Social media afford emancipation through unrestricted emotion in public discourse, relative to traditional media.

Hegemony Through Lean Social Media

While we posited that social media generally are emancipatory, media theory anticipates disparities across different types of digital media (Daft and Lengel 1986; Dennis et al. 2008). Daft and Lengel (1986) differentiated rich media (i.e., those with greater language variety, multiplicity of cues, greater personalization, and rapid feedback) from lean media, (i.e., those with less language variety, few cues, less personalization, and laggard feedback). They posited that rich media were better suited to sense-giving and sense-making.

Lean media have been associated with lower participation costs (Carlson and Davis 1998). Because those disadvantaged on one digital medium tend to be disadvantaged across all digital media due to constrained access to the underlying infrastructure (Agarwal et al. 2009; Hsieh et al. 2011), we do not propose that either rich or lean social media will be more hegemonic with regard to authorship constraints. Prior research also provides no evidence of differential facility for surfacing frames across lean versus rich digital media. Due to their facility for deindividuation and cue capacity limits, lean media are believed to foster hegemonic discourse conditions in actors' responses to each other—giving rise to disparities in source citation and influence, use of varied cues necessary for crafting signature element, and infusion of emotion (Dennis and Kinney 1998; Mabry 1997; Rockmann et al. 2007). We now synthesize prior research to propose how lean digital media may be more hegemonic with regard to these discourse conditions.

Of the three conditions related to *constrained citation*—preferences for official, popular, and homophilous sources—the last is particularly relevant to lean digital media. Twitter users especially tend to be exposed to relatively homogeneous information since they tend to follow those espousing similar ideologies (Himmelboim et al. 2013). Lean media impose an additional constraint on source citation: Dahlberg (2001) noted that online forums lack respectful listening to others.

Proposition 2a: Lean social media afford hegemony through constrained citation in public discourse, relative to rich social media.

The issue of *constrained influence* speaks to the extent to which established status hierarchies are reproduced through news coverage. Small group research suggests that while lean media reduce enactments of established hierarchies, they in fact do so to some extent (Benbasat and Lim 1993). We noted previously researchers' concern that disproportionate attention accrues to a few actors, especially as the size of online communities increases, and actors overwhelmed by available information apply the heuristic of popularity in deciding to whom they should attend (Barabási and Albert 1999). Because participation costs are lower on lean social media, participation will be higher (Butler et al. 2014), causing the information overload that triggers application of the popularity heuristic.

Proposition 2b: Lean social media afford hegemony through constrained influence in public discourse, relative to rich social media.

Lean media restrict signatures. Lean media, by definition, permit transmission of a narrower range of cues (Daft and

Lengel 1986), constraining use of signatures such as visual images.

Proposition 2c: Lean social media afford hegemony through restricted signatures in public discourse, relative to rich social media.

Lean media *restrict positive emotion*, tending to intensify communication of negative emotion or flaming (Lea et al. 1992; O'Sullivan and Flanagan 2003). Negative emotion displays have been especially pronounced on digital media when discussions focus on political issues (e.g., Kayany 1998). Research also suggests that communication via lean media is subject to negativity-neutrality biases, whereby audiences interpret negative emotion expressed even more negatively and positive emotion expressed as more neutral (Byron 2008; Watts 2007).

Proposition 2d: Lean social media afford hegemony through restricted positive emotion in public discourse, relative to rich social media.

Methods

As noted earlier, we investigate the SOPA discourse by applying a case study approach. Case research is appropriate for investigating research questions in contemporary phenomena, over which the researchers lack control (Yin 1994), as was the case with the SOPA discourse. It is particularly useful in focusing the researcher on meaningful constructs and identifying metrics by which to assess those constructs (Benbasat et al. 1987).

Based on the discourse volume observed during our preliminary analyses, we focused on discourse occurring between November 17 and January 18. This enabled us to study the discourse during the chain of events starting after the House Judiciary Committee hearings (November 16) and leading up to the seminal protest event, the "SOPA strike" on January 18, occurring just two days before the bill was tabled.

Focal Media and Discourse Sampling

We mainly drew upon digital archives for discourse data. Of the five traditional media that shape public discourse, television, radio, newspapers, books, and cinema (Katz et al. 1973), we focused on newspapers and television. Coverage by the first three is the most proximate to news events; lead times for producing books and movies are longer. McCombs and Shaw (1972) found most people accessed the news

primarily through newspapers and television. Katz et al. (1973) found newspaper and television served more distinct societal functions from each other than from radio. Finally, newspaper and television represent two ends of the media richness continuum.

To facilitate triangulation across data points (Yin 1994), we endeavored to obtain as comprehensive a picture of media participation as possible. We therefore searched LexisNexis and Factiva for articles and television transcripts referencing SOPA, as well as the Internet for recordings of television shows unavailable through LexisNexis and Factiva. Newspaper articles included both news accounts and commentaries in the form of editorials and letters to editors by key players such as legislation author Lamar Smith, Wikipedia founder Jimmy Wales, and digital rights activist Rebecca MacKinnon. Television shows included coverage by 24-hour news stations such as CNN and MSNBC, news parodies such as the Colbert Report on Comedy Central, and prime time news coverage on stations such as NBC.

We identified three dominant social media sites for SOPA discourse: Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube. Of these, we focused on Twitter and YouTube because they differ the most in their relative richness (Kaplan and Haenlein 2010) and serve as counterparts to newspapers and television. We obtained a dataset of Twitter messages about SOPA from r-shief.org,⁵ which included tweets with a #SOPA hashtag for the study period and contains tweet dates, author accounts, texts, and accounts mentioned or replied to (sources). To develop a dataset of YouTube videos, we first searched for YouTube videos with SOPA in the title, keywords, description, categories, or author's username. This yielded a set of 2,542 videos, of which 1,065 pertained to the SOPA legislation and were posted within our study period. These videos represented almost 6,000 minutes of air time and over 12 million total views.⁶

Analysis of Interpretive Media Packages

The unit of analysis for all facets of interpretive media packages was the entire text: the newspaper article, TV show

⁵R-shief, Arabic for "archive," is a nonprofit organization founded by Laila Shereen Sakr that collects multilingual social media content about national and global movements.

⁶Transcriptions of foreign language videos were obtained through Mechanical Turk workers or through www.savedeo.com (to download the YouTube video) and www.voicebase.com (to transcribe the saved video). Translations subsequently were obtained through Google Translate.

transcript, tweet, and YouTube video or transcript. Because interpretive packages—network structure as well as message content—were revealed over the course of an entire text, it was not meaningful to unitize texts at a more granular level.

We first analyzed the structure of interpretive packages by constructing networks of message authors and the sources cited. In traditional media, news story authors usually were reporters from media organizations, who cited (interviewed, quoted, or paraphrased) different sources. We identified these sources for all newspaper articles and TV segments. On Twitter, authors were those posting tweets and sources were those mentioned or replied to. On YouTube, authors were those posting videos and sources were those interviewed, quoted, or paraphrased, or whose videos were reposted. Two researchers identified all sources by viewing the videos and reading transcripts. Media networks were analyzed using NodeXL version 1.0.1.251 (Smith et al. 2010).

We combined participants from a single organization for both traditional and social media before analyzing message content and participant (author/source) networks (e.g., MediaNews Group newspapers and Anonymous Twitter accounts). This allowed us to control for organizational affiliation and examine interpretive packages at an institutional level.

We qualitatively analyzed the content of interpretive packages for the manner in which news-providers covered SOPA. We read all newspaper articles and TV transcripts. We analyzed English YouTube videos by watching them and foreign language videos from translated transcripts. We coded the articles, tweets, YouTube videos, and transcripts for dominant frames, signatures, and sources cited.

Measures of Structural Constraint and Content Restrictions in Interpretive Packages

To examine structural constraints (i.e., authorship, citation, and influence) more systematically, we broke down the study interval into four periods. The periods were marked by key events identified through our narratives: (1) November 17 (the day after first House Judiciary Committee Hearings) to December 14; (2) December 15 (Motion Picture Association of America expressed support) to January 2; (3) January 3 (Entertainment Software Association expressed support) to January 14; and (4) January 15 (White House expressed disapproval of SOPA) to January 18 (SOPA strike day). Consistent with prior research (e.g., Schwalbe et al. 2008), we then considered inter-period correlations of authorship, citation, and influence. See Table 1 for explanations of these metrics.

After surveying our data set for frames and signatures, to examine restrictions on these two facets of discourse content, we developed a sample of messages from each media (see Appendix C for a description of our sampling procedures). We coded messages appearing in each sample for the presence of pro- and anti-SOPA prognostic, diagnostic, and motivational frames and use of each signature type. Since we could automate coding for the emotion facet via the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) software, we used a census of our data to analyze emotion. Table 1 summarizes these metrics.

Comparing Interpretive Packages Across Media

We begin our consideration of the emancipatory and hegemonic effects of social media vis-à-vis interpretive packages constructed by providing descriptions of our data. We then proceed to quantitative analyses to test our propositions.

Preliminary Observations and Descriptive Evidence

Twitter coverage of SOPA began the day the legislation was proposed. The first Twitter post was by elementary school teacher Sabrina Stevens. On YouTube, coverage by digital rights group, Public Knowledge, on October 25, anticipated the legislation. In contrast, mainstream media were chided for their silence on the legislation (MediaMatters 2012). While newspaper coverage also began on October 26, it was by small, trade, regional, and international papers such as *The Hollywood Reporter*, *The Austin American-Statesman*, and *India Retail News*. Coverage by large national papers did not occur until an op-ed piece on November 16 in *The New York Times*. Television coverage commenced on November 17 on Fox Business News.

Table 2 provides a perspective on the vast number of messages authored on social media, participating authors, sources cited, and diversity of authors' countries and languages relative to traditional media. We also observed a large number of social media posts by those without political or economic power. In fact, of the first five posters on Twitter (Appendix D, Table D2), four were private citizens, and one, Demand Progress, was a grassroots activist organization. Similarly, posts on YouTube emanated largely from private citizens, mainly gamers, and activist organizations.

Table 1. Operationalization of Study Constructs

Construct	Metrics	Explanation
Structural Constraint Metrics		
Constrained authorship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inter-period correlation[†] for <i>presence</i> of a participant as an author Inter-period correlation for number of times a participant was an author (i.e., <i>activity</i>) 	Inter-period correlations for author presence and activity indicate the extent to which authorship in one period constrained authorship in subsequent periods. If actors ignored issues inimical to their economic interests (as was the anti-SOPA movement), we should see a positive correlation between authorship in one period and the next, as actors not perceiving their interests to be threatened <i>address</i> the issue consistently and those perceiving a threat <i>ignore</i> the issue consistently. Similarly, if demographic factors influenced who did and did not participate, we should see high inter-period correlations for author presence and activity.
Constrained citation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inter-period correlation for <i>appearance</i> of a participant as a cited source Inter-period correlation for times participants were a cited source (i.e., <i>popularity</i>) 	Inter-period correlations for source appearance and popularity speak to the extent to which citation in one period constrained citation in subsequent periods. If citing actors were attentive to previously used and/or popular sources, we should see high inter-period correlations for source appearance and popularity.
Constrained influence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inter-period correlation for eigenvector centrality in network[‡] 	Eigenvector centrality assesses influence in terms of one's own ties and those ties' ties. Since ties to prominent actors contribute more to one's visibility than ties to less-prominent actors, eigenvector centrality is more representative of network-wide influence than are measures such as degree centrality, based only on tie counts (Bonacich 2007). Inter-period correlations capture the extent to which actors' influence in one period is constrained by their influence in preceding periods.
Content Restriction Metrics		
Unrestricted frames	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proportion of messages using all frames (i.e., <i>comprehensiveness</i>) Proportion of messages with both pro- and anti-SOPA frames (i.e., <i>balance</i>) 	Messages containing all three frames (i.e., prognostic, diagnostic, and motivational) indicate more comprehensive arguments. Messages containing at least one frame reflecting a pro-SOPA perspective and at least one frame reflecting an anti-SOPA perspective indicate balance.
Unrestricted signatures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proportion of signature types contained in messages 	Higher proportion of different types of signatures indicates more diverse, vivid signature use.
Unrestricted emotion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proportion of positive emotion words in text Proportion of negative emotion words in text 	Higher proportions of positive and negative emotion words, as identified by LIWC, signify higher levels of emotion infusion (Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010).

[†]Because the large number of Twitter participants and highly skewed distribution of tweets would inflate correlations for this communication medium (Zimmerman and Williams 2000), we used rank-order correlations.

[‡]Since citing an actor is a directional activity, the networks constructed were directed networks. Ties between an author and source cited were binary, with an entry for each instance of the author citing a particular source.

We depict the networks constructed through SOPA coverage across the four media in Figure 4.⁷ These networks highlight

⁷Given the size of the digital media networks, we employed the Wakita-Tsurumi (2007) clustering algorithm, which scales better than competing clustering algorithms without sacrificing modularity, to detect disparate communities.

actors who garnered prominence through the discourse. While sources such as Wikipedia and Google were popular across all media, white- or black-hat activist organizations such as Fight for the Future, Avaaz.org, Anonymous, and the Electronic Frontier Foundation (EFF), and individuals such as John Bain were among the most frequently cited sources on social media, indicating a broader focus. However, with a

Table 2. Summary of SOPA Coverage across Media

Media	Lean	Rich
Traditional	NEWSPAPER Total articles: 338 Total participants (authors + sources): 416 Participating countries: 17 Participating newspapers: 131 Distinct authors: 86 [†] Distinct sources: 332 [†]	TELEVISION Total shows: 85 Total participants (authors + sources): 117 Participating countries: 5 Participating stations: 11 Distinct authors: 9 [†] Distinct sources: 111 [†]
	TWITTER Total tweets: 1,067,319 [‡] Total participants (authors + sources): 503,222 Participating languages: 37 Participating accounts: 493,515 Distinct authors: 471,348 [†] Distinct sources: 91,514 [†]	YOUTUBE Total videos: 1,065 Total participants (authors + sources): 1,453 Participating languages: 8 Participating accounts: 929 Distinct authors: 678 [†] Distinct sources: 824 [†]

[†]Unique organizations represented.

[‡]Because of the 140-character limit, it is possible that Twitter users fragmented their messages across multiple posts, creating digests of posts and thereby inflating this message count. Analyses of multiple tweets emanating from an author within varying time windows and a detailed analysis of the first five hours of tweets in Appendix D suggests that as much as 23% of messages may have been digested across multiple tweets though. We thank an anonymous reviewer for raising this concern.

modal frequency of zero for a discourse participant being cited on social media (see Appendix E, Figures E3 and E4), our data also depict the power law distributions for attention anticipated by Barabási and Albert (1999). Nonetheless, the intent of authors such as Sabrina Stevens, who tweeted a link to material composed by DemandProgress, arguably was to draw attention to the *messages* developed by such activist groups rather than to themselves. Further, the citation distribution for newspapers too approached a power-law function, with only 6 of the 86 newspaper organizations (7%) being cited by another newspaper organization (Appendix E, Figure E1), and a modal frequency of only 1 tie. While the citation distribution for television appeared less anomalous, with three of the nine television organizations (33%) being cited by another television organization (Figure E2), the modal frequency of being cited was still one. This raises the possibility that the long tails visible in citation frequency distributions for social media are merely a function of the more extensive participation on social media.

Except for Wikipedia, the five most influential organizations in newspaper and television discourse (Figure 4) were media or economic powerhouses. In newspaper discourse, these included News Corporation, *The Wall Street Journal's* parent company; MediaNews Group, parent company of 17 participating newspapers, including *The San Jose Mercury News* and *Contra Costa Times*; the New York Times Company, parent company of *The New York Times* and *The Interna-*

tional Herald Tribune; Google; and Wikipedia. Most influential on television were Time Warner, CNN's parent company; News Corporation, parent to Fox News and Fox Filmed Entertainment; PBS; NBC Universal, parent to NBC and MSNBC stations; and Wikipedia. In contrast, influential actors on social media were activists and private citizens. On Twitter, these were Anonymous, Wikipedia, EFF, Avaaz.org, and Hollywood and TV actor Wil Wheaton. On YouTube, they were Fight for the Future, whose Vimeo video was cited or reposted on YouTube 62 times, Wikipedia, gamer John Bain, censorship activist Mike Mozart, and Google.

Table 3 depicts the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames emphasized across media. We offer illustrative quotes representing these frames from media coverage in Appendix G. The two dominant diagnostic frames were the pro-SOPA *piracy* frame and the anti-SOPA *censorship* frame; dominant prognostic frames were *bad-for-business* and *loss-of-popular-online-resources*; dominant motivational frames were *boycott-supporters* and *SOPA-strike*. Generally, there were more anti-than pro-SOPA frames, especially on social media. Motivational frames appeared only rarely on television, but were prolific on social media.

Table 4 provides a sample of the signatures used. A more comprehensive set, illustrating the specific frames amplified, appears in Appendix G. Contrary to prior observations that signature elements reiterate and amplify informational ele-

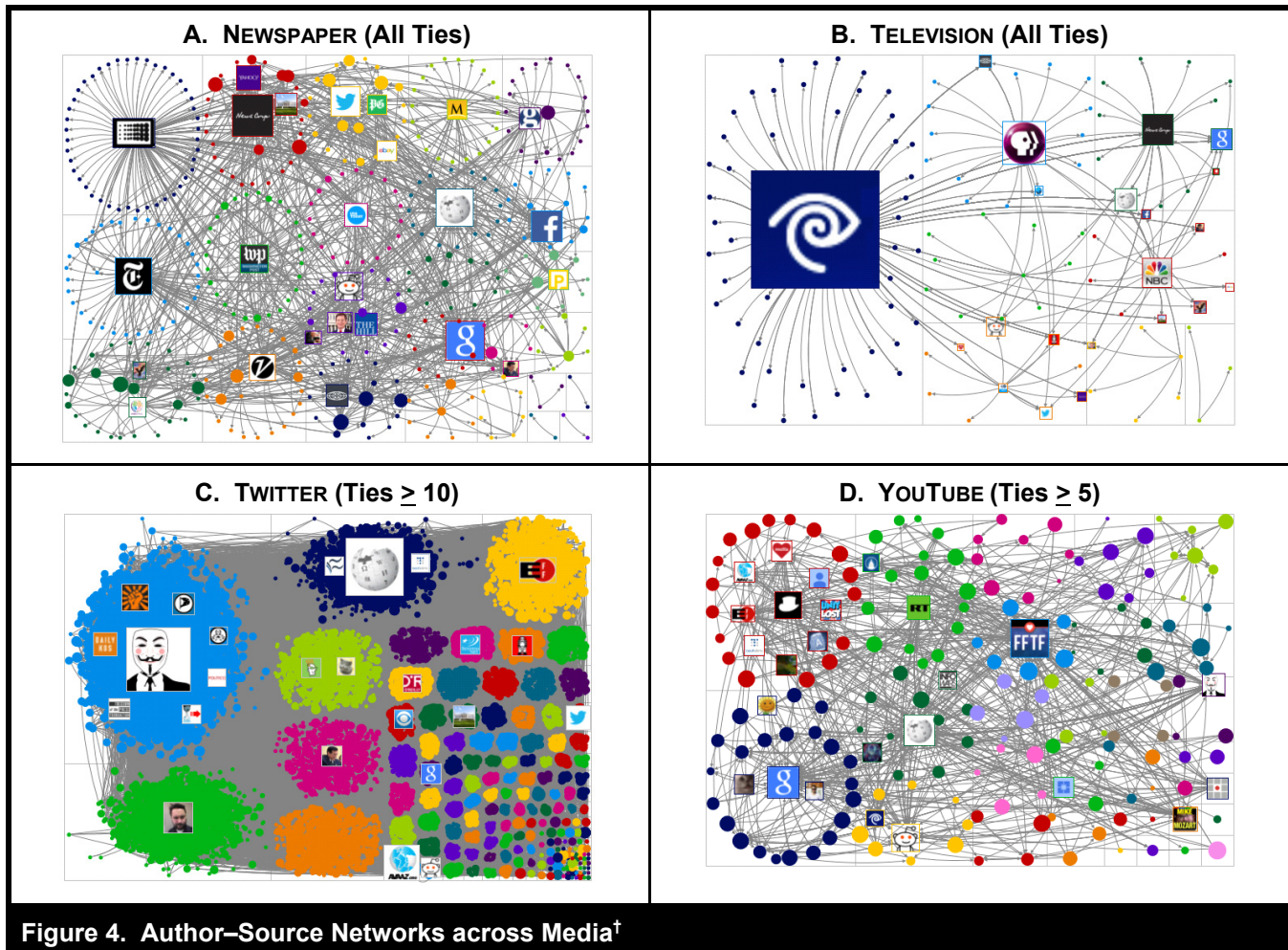


Figure 4. Author-Source Networks across Media[†]

[†]Legend provided in Appendix F. Node size depicts actors' relative influence. Groupings, depicted by node colors and position on grid, represent distinct communities. Only prominent actors in social media networks are depicted because of the density of networks.

ments of frames (Gamson and Stuart 1992), many frames appeared only as signature elements in messages, particularly on social media.

The signature used most extensively across all media was the metaphor. Metaphors drew attention to frames such as *censorship* (e.g., comparing SOPA to Chinese or Nazi regimes) and *legislators are over-reacting* (e.g., comparing legislator reactions to piracy to taking a flamethrower to kittens to address a lion that escaped the zoo). Exemplars mainly drew attention to the negative consequences of SOPA for business people, entertainers, and everyday people. A few on YouTube that addressed the negative consequences of piracy overlaid the exemplars' claims with ironic messages noting their exaggerations or promoting the competing *censorship* frame. Catchphrases, implemented as hashtags such as *#DontBreakTheInternet* and *#SOPAStrike* on Twitter,

abounded on social media. Depictions mainly were acerbic *ad hominem* attacks (e.g., suaveTech's January 18 video equating SOPA with "*Stupidity Only Politicians Acquire*"). A few, such as Stephen Colbert's introduction of Jonathan Zittrain as a defender of thieves and pirates on Comedy Central's *The Colbert Report*, were tongue-in-cheek. Visual images of the diagnostic censorship frame—such as redactions—and of the motivational SOPA opposition frame were prolific on social media. Such visuals were deliberately chosen; as Ben Huh, CEO of Cheezburger, noted, "*A black screen is alarming*" (*USA Today*, January 18, 2012).

In addition to the five signatures identified by Gamson and his colleagues, our data revealed two novel signatures: sarcasm/irony and music. Prior research has noted the social function of sarcasm as social control (Ducharme 1994). This was evident in messages such as the observation that SOPA would

Table 3. Frames Emphasized Across Media

Frames	NEWSPAPER	TELEVISION	TWITTER	YOUTUBE
Diagnostic Frames				
+ Anti-piracy/-counterfeiting	●●●	●●●	●	●●
+ Drastic action is required	●			
+ Illegal conduct is not free speech...it's stealing		●		
+ Illegal Web sites abroad stealing American IP		●		
+ Piracy is rampant	●		●	●
– Censorship/First Amendment violation	●●	●	●●●●	●●●●
– Imitation is not the same as copyright infringement			●	●
– Internet blacklist bill	●	●	●	●●
– Legislators are incompetent	●●	●●	●●●●	●●●●●
– Legislators are over-reacting	●●	●●	●●●●●	●●●●●
– Legislators are pandering to entertainment industry	●	●	●●	●●
– Obsolete entertainment industry business model			●	●●
– SOPA supporters created the problem			●	●●
– SOPA opposition disseminating misinformation	●	●	●	
– SOPA supporters disseminating misinformation			●●	●
– USA is being a bully	●			●●
○ Technology enables both good and bad	●		●	
Prognostic Frames				
+ Good for entertainment industry/jobs	●	●	●	
+ Improve quality of media content online	●			
+ Prevent increasing cost of products for Americans		●		
+ Protect public health	●			
– Bad for business/innovation/economy	●●●●	●●	●●	●●●●●
– Bad for art/fun/gaming/pornography		●●	●●	●●
– Bad for international relations			●●	●●
– Break the Internet	●	●	●	●●
– Diminish Internet freedom	●	●	●●	●●
– Enact/enable repressive regimes/silence free speech	●	●	●●	●●
– Increase litigation/government overhead for enforcement	●	●	●	●
– Legislators would be guilty of piracy		●	●	●
– Loss of popular online resources	●●	●	●●●●●	●●●
– Make third-party intermediaries enforcers of copyright	●	●	●	●
– Shut down sites	●	●	●●	●●
– Threaten cybersecurity	●	●	●	●
– Threaten supporting companies' privacy (Anonymous)	●		●	●
Motivational Frames				
+ Don't let the law die out	●			
+ Examine SOPA supporters' motives	●			
+ Maintain parity between online and offline theft policing	●	●	●	
+ Protect Americans	●	●	●	
– Boycott supporters	●		●●●●	●
– Call legislators	●		●●●	●●
– Demand freedom	●		●●	●●
– Don't break the Internet	●	●	●	●
– Don't let the Internet vanish			●	●
– Re-post and share information			●	●
– SOPA strike			●●●●●	●
– Stop the law that will censor the Internet	●		●	●●
– Unite against SOPA	●		●●	●

+ Pro-SOPA frames | – Anti-SOPA frames | ○ Neutral frames | More dots indicate greater emphasis

Table 4. Signatures Used Across Media

NEWSPAPER	TELEVISION	TWITTER	YOUTUBE
Metaphors			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SOPA is like ... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> China's Great Firewall suing Ford just because a Mustang was used in a bank robbery ...to slay the dragon, we need more than a fly swatter 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SOPA is like ... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> suing Ford just because a Mustang was used in a bank robbery obliterating a neighborhood that just had a burglary Can't find the pirate so you go after the guy that paved the road 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SOPA is like ... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> China's Great Firewall totalitarian regime like Nazi Germany landmines in stores to discourage shoplifting burning a Walmart 'coz they sell knock-offs releasing tigers to deal with urban foxes ...fewer foxes... but have to deal with tigers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SOPA is like ... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> China's Great Firewall dealing with escaped lion by blasting some kittens with a flamethrower and kitten BBQ=bad!! burning down your house because you have an ant problem
Exemplars			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Red Mass Group blogger: very existence could be wiped out if SOPA passes Ben Huh, CEO of Cheezburger: threatened to move 1,000 domains off GoDaddy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aqua: able to download "I'm a Barbie Girl" from YouTube Senator Blunt: guilty of theft ... for using Flickr picture on Twitter page Chinese bloggers: unable to protest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Justin Bieber, pop singer: could be sent to jail because of the videos that made him famous (#FreeBieber) Gina Trapani, blogger: GoDaddy supports SOPA, so... I'm transferring my domains 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ben Huh, CEO, Cheezburger: SOPA will curb first amendment rights and prohibit the growth of American jobs YouTube user: The Internet is the only way poor people like him can have fun and SOPA would take it away
Catchphrases			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Don't Break the Internet Stealing the American Dream 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Don't break the Internet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> #DontBreakThe Internet #SOPAStrike #StopSOPA #BoycottGoDaddy #Wikipedia Blackout #NoSOPA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Don't break the Internet SOPA? How about NOPA! SOPA strike Stop SOPA
Depictions			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Foreign rogue Web sites Washington legislating internet akin to gorilla playing Stradivarius Web users: corporate pawns 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Foreign criminals Wikipedia: Spreading misinformation about bill 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Confused, middle-aged politicians making rules for the Internet Google: Piracy leader who streams movies free, sells advertisements around them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rep. Mel Watt: I'm not a nerd Technically incompetent legislators in charge of the Internet is like toddler at the controls of a 747
Visual Images			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Pirate Bay screenshot Screenshots of protest websites 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Pirate Bay screenshot Screenshots of protest websites 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Censored profile pictures Redacted text Links to animated GIFs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Screenshots of protest websites Animated GIFs Stop signs
Sarcasm/Irony			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> With SOPA you get more prison time for singing Michael Jackson songs than killing him Bills do surgery on the Internet and haven't talked to a doctor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Makes you long for a world where people respected works of others...[Imagine all the people] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> With SOPA you get more prison time for singing Michael Jackson songs than killing him We want to thank co-sponsors of #SOPA. We were beginning to think we were the only ones who hated freedom. #TSA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> With SOPA you get more prison time for singing Michael Jackson songs than killing him SOPA=Stupidity Only Politicians Acquire
Music			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Day the LOLcats Died 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Imagine all the People 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Day the LOLcats Died Don't let 'em Censor the Internet Firewall SOPA Cabana 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Day the LOLcats Died Don't let 'em Censor the Internet Firewall SOPA Cabana

impose harsher penalties on those singing Michael Jackson songs than the penalty for killing him. Music is particularly effective in capturing attention (Vettehen et al. 2008) and aiding recall (Yalch 1991). Well-known songs were used as cognitive or emotional shorthand; for example, a video captured a SOPA debate during which Representative Jared Polis introduced the lyrics of *The Internet is for Porn*, a song from the musical Avenue Q, arguing difficulties facing the government in enforcing the legislation. Other music took the form

of parodies, combining satirical lyrics about SOPA with memorable melodies in the style popularized by the American satire group, The Capitol Steps (e.g., *The Day the LOLcats Died* used Don McLean's *American Pie*). Performed on YouTube, links to these SOPA songs proliferated on Twitter as lyricists encouraged viewers to share them. In contrast, music appeared rarely in traditional media coverage. Television's sole use of music in SOPA coverage was Chris Hayes' portrayal of a video of kids singing *Happy Birthday* as

he observed that such videos would be illegal under SOPA (MSNBC 1/15/2012), and Jon Stewart playing John Lennon's *Imagine* (Comedy Central, January 18, 2012), which terminated abruptly as Stewart said,

We don't have John Lennon copyright money. By the way, if you post any of this on YouTube, you will be hunted down and sued and there is nothing I can do about it.

Some signatures appearing on social media manifested multiple frames, for example, *The Day the LOLcats Died* (on YouTube, see Appendix G) proffered the *legislators-are-incompetent* and the *legislators-pandering-to-the-entertainment-industry* diagnostic frames, the *loss-of-popular-resources* prognostic frame, and the *call-legislators* motivational frame. Traditional media often picked up signatures first appearing on social media—catchphrases such as *#DontBreakTheInternet* (Daily Variety 11/18/2011). The sole newspaper mention of a song was of *The Day the LOLcats Died* by *The Indian Express* (January 18, 2012).

Proposition 1: Emancipation Through Social Media

Table 5 provides evidence of less *constrained authorship* on social media (P1a). In traditional media coverage, authorship in one period correlated positively with authorship in the next, as measured by author presence and frequency of authorship activity. In contrast, on social media, author presence and activity in one period had a statistically significant, but practically slight, negative effect on author presence and activity in the next.

Table 5 provides evidence of less *constrained citation* on social media (P1b). Appearing as a source in one period correlated insignificantly with appearing as a source in the subsequent period across all media. However, source popularity in one period correlated significantly with source popularity in the subsequent period, although only in newspaper and Twitter coverage. The inter-period correlation for source popularity was significantly lower on Twitter than on newspapers. Inter-period correlations were insignificant on television and YouTube, as were the differences in correlations.

Table 5 also provides partial evidence of less *constrained influence* on social media (P1c). The inter-period correlations for influence were significant only for newspaper and Twitter coverage, not for television or YouTube coverage. Between Twitter and newspaper coverage, influence was significantly

more constrained on newspapers. There was no significant difference in the inter-period correlations for influence between television and YouTube.

Television's limited coverage, however, may have attenuated its inter-period correlation in influence. We investigated differences in *constrained influence* across media by exploring the extent to which daily contributions by the most influential actor on each medium (i.e., News Corporation on newspaper; Time Warner on television; Anonymous on Twitter; and Fight for the Future on YouTube) correlated with the next day's activity within that medium across the 63-day study period. We considered the next day's activity in terms of the number of distinct authors of publications (i.e., articles, TV shows, tweets, or videos) and the number of publications. Table 6 presents these correlations, providing strong evidence of the attenuated weight of influential actors on social media relative to traditional media, supporting P1c.

Table 7 provides evidence mostly countering P1d, which expected *unrestricted frames* on social media and the diversity of frames evident in Table 3 and Appendix G. Comparing individual messages authored across media provides a more complicated view. YouTube messages were significantly more comprehensive than television messages. While we see a significantly higher proportion of newspaper than Twitter messages containing diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames, framing comprehensiveness was very low on both lean media (i.e., the proportion of comprehensive messages was not significantly more than zero). This suggests the significant difference may be an artifact of the Twitter sample size. Messages on both social media were substantially less likely to provide a balance of pro- and anti-SOPA perspectives than those on traditional media. From Appendix C (Table C2), we see that traditional media tended to favor pro-SOPA diagnostic and prognostic frames; few messages offered motivational frames. In contrast, frames offered on social media were almost exclusively anti-SOPA. Considered along with their economic interests and espoused SOPA stance, these findings suggest far greater framing bias on social than traditional media.

Evidence in Table 7 appears to contradict P1e, which anticipated *unrestricted signatures* on social media. We see the proportion of the seven signatures being used significantly exceeds zero across all media, confirming the value of signatures in augmenting frames. Traditional media messages appear to have employed more of the seven signature types than did social media messages though. Considering the Twitter 140-character limit, and the possibility that messages on Twitter may have been digested across multiple tweets, we

Table 5. Inter-Period Correlations for Authorship,[†] Citation,[†] and Influence

Media	Lean [†]	Rich	Difference
Traditional	NEWSPAPER r(authorship) = 0.18*/0.38*** r(citation) = 0.07/0.19*** r(influence) = 0.60***	TELEVISION r(authorship) = 0.52***/0.69*** r(citation) = -0.13/-0.13 r(influence) = -0.04	z(authorship) = 0.93/1.06 z(citation) = 1.81*/2.91** z(influence) = 6.93***
Social	TWITTER r(authorship) = -0.06***/-0.02*** r(citation) = -0.00/0.07*** r(influence) = 0.28***	YOUTUBE r(authorship) = -0.17***/-0.17*** r(citation) = -0.03/0.02 r(influence) = 0.20***	z(authorship) = 3.19**/4.34*** z(citation) = 0.70/1.30 z(influence) = 3.23***
Difference	z(authorship) = 2.21*/3.83*** z(citation) = 1.32/2.21* z(influence) = 8.24***	z(authorship) = 1.83*/2.49* z(citation) = 0.97/1.45 z(influence) = 2.50*	

[†]Average inter-period correlation for presence as author or source /number of times author (activity) or source (popularity).

*p < 0.100; **p < 0.010; ***p < 0.001; two-tailed tests; n varies for author/source across media as per Table 2.

Table 6. Between-Day Correlations for Most Influential Actors' and Others' Activities

Media	Lean [†]	Rich	Difference
Traditional	NEWSPAPER r(authors) = 0.96*** r(articles) = 0.97***	TELEVISION r(authors) = 0.80*** r(shows) = 0.89***	z(authors) = 4.60*** z(content) = 3.64***
Social	TWITTER r(authors) = 0.51*** r(tweets) = 0.54***	YOUTUBE r(authors) = 0.18 r(videos) = 0.18	z(authors) = 2.07* z(content) = 2.29*
Difference	z(authors) = 7.51*** z(content) = 8.08***	z(authors) = 4.98*** z(content) = 6.73***	

[†]Day-to-day correlation between most influential actors' activities and community activities.

*p < 0.100; **p < 0.010; ***p < 0.001; two-tailed tests; n = 63 days

Table 7. Use of Frames,[†] Signatures,[‡] and Emotion[†]

Media	Lean	Rich	Difference
Traditional	NEWSPAPER p(frames) = 0.12/0.64*** p(signatures) = 0.14*** p(emotion) = 0.0045/0.0037	TELEVISION p(frames) = 0.04/0.76*** p(signatures) = 0.35*** p(emotion) = 0.0185/0.0097	z(frames) = 1.47*/1.46* z(signatures) = 2.07** z(emotion) = 0.93/0.87
Social	TWITTER p(frames) = 0.00/0.01*** p(signatures) = 0.09*** p(emotion) = 0.0307/0.0174	YOUTUBE p(frames) = 0.35***/0.26*** p(signatures) = 0.23*** p(emotion) = 0.0272/0.0136	z(frames) = 7.34***/5.69*** z(signatures) = 3.28*** z(emotion) = 0.70/1.07
Difference	z(frames) = 3.20***/11.35*** z(signatures) = 1.41* z(emotion) = 7.19***/4.15***	z(frames) = 5.02***/5.21*** z(signatures) = 1.15 z(emotion) = 0.18/0.18	

[†]Proportion of messages with comprehensive frames/Proportion of messages balancing pro- and anti-SOPA frames.

[‡]Proportion of signature types used in messages. [†]Proportion of positive/negative emotion to total words.

*p < 0.100; **p < 0.010; ***p < 0.001; two-tailed tests.

For frames and signatures, n = sample sizes from Appendix C (Table C1); for emotion, n = number of messages from Table 2

adjusted the proportions of signatures used for the number of words in a message.⁸ Newspaper messages averaged 0.16 signatures per 100 words, and television messages 0.32 signatures per 100 words. In contrast, tweets averaged 5.29 signatures per 100 words ($t_{\text{Twitter vs newspaper, df}=1573} = 4.93^{***}$), and YouTube posts 2.39 signatures per 100 words ($t_{\text{YouTube vs television, df}=123} = 0.97$). This suggests that the apparently lower signature rates on social media—especially Twitter—may be a function of the shorter posts; accounting for message length reveals a significantly higher signature rate on Twitter than in newspaper.⁹

Evidence in Table 7 partially supports P1f, which anticipated *unrestricted emotion* in social media coverage. We observed SOPA coverage to be more emotionally charged on social media. However, differences in use of emotion words were significant only for lean media.

Proposition 2: Hegemony Through Lean Social Media

Table 5 suggests significant differences in *authorship constraints* between lean (Twitter) and rich (YouTube) social media. Nonetheless, since all inter-period correlations were negative, we conclude that author presence and activity in one period did not increase the likelihood of an author's presence or activity in subsequent periods and no authorship constraints occurred on social media. Table 6 indicates that *citation constraints* are insignificantly different on Twitter and YouTube, failing to support P2a. Table 5 indicates that inter-period correlations for influence are higher for Twitter than for YouTube. This supports P2b, which expected more *constrained influence* on lean than rich social media.

While we did not anticipate higher *frames restrictions* on lean or rich social media, Table 7 depicts significantly stronger frames restrictions on Twitter than on YouTube, in terms of both a lack of framing comprehensiveness and prevalence of anti-SOPA framing biases. Supporting P2c, Table 7 indicates significantly more *restricted signatures* (i.e., lower proportion of signature use) on Twitter than on YouTube. However, by our word-count-adjusted metric, Twitter messages displayed less *restricted signatures* than did YouTube messages ($t_{\text{Twitter vs YouTube, df}=1598} = 3.07^{***}$). Finally, Table 7 indicates no significant difference in the amounts of positive or negative

emotion in coverage across Twitter and YouTube, providing no support for P2d, which anticipated *restricted positive emotion* on lean social media.

Discussion

Our research objective was to understand how and to what extent digital mass media are emancipatory versus hegemonic in their effects on society. To this end, we raised two research questions. Below, we revisit those questions and the answers our investigation offers.

RQ1. How Do Social Media Afford Emancipation or Hegemony?

Recognizing that the concepts of emancipation and hegemony are too large for systematic investigation (Cerny 2006), we first sought a set of component constructs amenable to operationalization. To accomplish this, we coupled our case-based research approach with reviews of literature related to mass communication as prescribed by prior case researchers (Eisenhardt 1989; Markus et al. 2006). This led us to focus on six facets of an interpretive media package—specifically, the extent to which three structural constraints and three content restrictions are imposed on societal discourse about an issue. Structural constraints included those on authorship, source citation, and influence. To recap, *authorship constraints* occur where some interested parties are not free to participate in the discourse and give voice to an issue. *Citation constraints* occur where conscious or unconscious biases prevail in authors' selection of sources. *Influence constraints* occur where factors extraneous to the discourse preclude some actors from being influential. Content restrictions included those on frames, signatures, and emotion. *Restricted frames* use refers to failure to provide diagnostic, prognostic, or motivational frames (comprehensiveness), or to giving weight to some perspectives to the exclusion of others (balance). *Restricted signatures* refers to a paucity of evocative imagery. *Restricted emotion* refers to inhibited emotional sharing. Our iterative engagement with the SOPA discourse data and literature related to communication and mass media led us to surface metrics by which to assess each of these interpretive package facets.

These three structural constraints and three content restrictions resonate with and extend prior MIS literature on digital media effects on communication. Structurally, while influence has been viewed sometimes as equal participation by low- and high-status individuals (Dubrovsky et al. 1991) and at other times as minority voices being heard/cited (McLeod

⁸Newspaper articles averaged 689 words, television shows 997, tweets 16, and YouTube videos 674.

⁹Appendix H describes why this approach does not work for frames restrictions. Emotion restriction metrics already account for total words.

et al. 1997), our research views *influence* as an *emergent property of collectives that is distinct from both participation and being cited*, thereby contributing to the conceptual clarity of this literature. We augment extant ways of considering communication content beyond the breadth and depth of discussion (Miranda and Saunders 2003) and emotion infused (Byron 2008) to include comprehensiveness and unbiasedness of frames and vividness of signatures used to amplify the frames.

RQ2: To What Extent Do Social Media Afford Emancipation/Hegemony?

Based on MIS literature on the digitization of communication and decision processes, we then developed two sets of propositions, which we tested with data on the interpretive packages composed across traditional versus social, lean versus rich mass media. We summarize results in Figure 5 and discuss those pertaining to each proposition below.

A: Are Social Media More Emancipatory than Traditional Media?

Proposition 1 addressed the first part of our second research question: Are social media more emancipatory? Paradoxically, and reminiscent of recent perspectives on the “dual effects” of information technology identified in other contexts (e.g., Markus 2014), Figure 5 suggests that social media are more emancipatory than traditional media in some regards and less in others. Specifically, social media are more emancipatory in their effects on the *structural facets* of the interpretive packages, but less emancipatory—even more hegemonic—in their effects on *content facets* of interpretive packages. Our general observations and quantitative analyses provided unequivocal support for our proposition that social media emancipate by relaxing *authorship constraints*. This was evident not only in lower inter-period correlations for author presence and activity, but also in descriptive indicators such as the total number and diversity of participants. Our findings are consistent with those of decades of MIS research on increased participation through digital communication (Dennis et al. 1988; Grohowski et al. 1990; Siegel et al. 1986) and increased articulation of minority arguments (e.g., McLeod et al. 1997). They set to rest recent concerns that large group settings may stifle individual participation (Kraut and Resnick 2011). Similarly, our data support our propositions that social media afford emancipation by relaxing *citation* and *influence constraints*, substantiating extant research findings of more equal influence in computer-mediated communication (e.g., Di Gangi et al. 2010; Zigurs et al. 1988).

While initial observations suggested a wider range of frames on social media, reminiscent of prior research findings that digital media unblock creativity (e.g., Ocker et al. 1995) and idea generation (e.g., Chidambaram and Jones 1993), more systematic analyses highlighted less comprehensive framing and a strong anti-SOPA bias in social media coverage relative to traditional media. To investigate the robustness of these findings to the message length limits on social media, we undertook follow-up analyses (summarized in Appendix H). The analyses suggest that accounting for message length alleviates apparent comprehensiveness restrictions of social media, but not balance restrictions, which were still high.

How is it possible that the absence of structural constraints yielded such restrictiveness in frames surfaced? Participant diversity, such as that observed among social media participants in the SOPA discourse, has been associated with heightened solution creativity on generative tasks (McLeod et al. 1996), and heightened information use, but lower information integration (Dahlin et al. 2005). Over time, as self-categorization processes unfold, diversity can inhibit social integration (Harrison et al. 2002). Tweets such as the January 15 one by Levie illustrate the hostility displayed toward competing viewpoints: “*Advocating #SOPA on Twitter is like walking into a dark alley wearing a glow in the dark Napster t-shirt and running into Lars Ulrich*,” a reference to the Metallica singer who sued Napster. Following Rupert Murdoch’s January 14 tweet, “*So Obama has thrown in his lot with Silicon Valley paymasters...*,” a parody Murdoch account (rupertmurdochpr 1/15/2012) tweeted, “*Obama won’t allow media giants to use #SOPA to seize control of the internet and restrict growth and new business. Communist.*” Thus, despite digital support for broad-based participation, individuals’ bias toward common ground—to discuss shared rather than unique perspectives (Dennis 1996)—appears to prevail. This finding also resonates with McLeod et al.’s (1997) findings that while minority perspectives are more likely to be articulated on digital media, they are less likely to be heard.

Quantitative analyses indicate less *restricted signatures* on social than traditional media, especially on Twitter, supporting prior perspectives of digital enablement of creativity (e.g., Ocker et al. 1995). Three qualitative observations from Table 4 and Appendix G reinforce quantitative findings of the emancipatory effects of social media vis-à-vis unrestricted signatures. First, Appendix G depicts a greater variety of signatures of most types on social than on traditional media. Second, Appendix G shows that a greater variety of signatures illustrated most SOPA frames on social than on traditional media. Third, traditional media picked up signatures born on social media, especially catchphrases popularized on Twitter

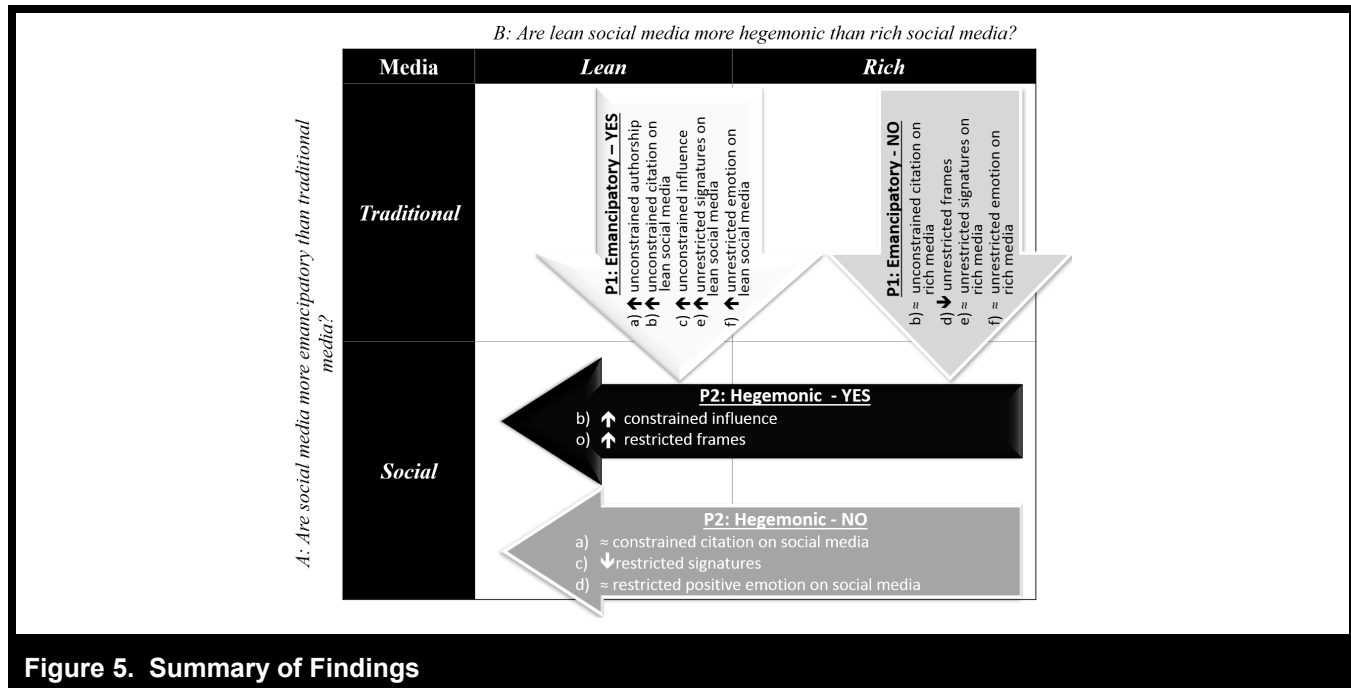


Figure 5. Summary of Findings

(e.g., Nancy Pelosi's November 17 hashtag *#DontBreakThe Internet*) and songs popularized on YouTube (i.e., *The Day the LOLcats Died*), thereby enriching SOPA coverage by traditional media.

Social media coverage often provided copy for traditional news media. For example, Rupert Murdoch's tweets on January 14, chastising Google and President Obama, subsequently appeared in newspaper and television coverage. Within social media, too, posts on one platform provided copy for the other (e.g., AnonOpsSweden December 29 tweet with a link to Mike Mozart's video: "@Occupy_USA Viral this to any country any lawyer, attorney any anti #sopa organisation <http://t.co/tFQHmfzx>"). In these ways, news coverage stimulated cross-media discourse, affecting the interplay between public opinion and traditional media coverage.

Finally, expectations regarding *less restricted emotion* were supported only for lean social media. This aligns with earlier findings that actors are less inhibited by social desirability when responding digitally (Kiesler and Sproull 1986; Sproull 1986), but contradicts received wisdom that digital media reduce available cues that communicate emotion (Rice 1992).

B: Are Lean Social Media More Hegemonic?

Proposition 2 addressed the second part of the second research question: Are lean social media more hegemonic?

Our data indicate that lean social media are more hegemonic with regard to increased influence constraints, but less so with regard to signature restrictions after adjusting for word counts. We observed an unanticipated hegemonic effect of lean social media with regard to frames restrictions: Twitter messages were both less comprehensive and less balanced. Our data do not support expectations that lean media are subject to decreased positive and heightened negative emotion.

Lean media constraints notwithstanding, our observations highlight creative workarounds by Twitter users (e.g., modified profile pictures and badges and text redaction) to surmount extant constraints, resonating with channel expansion theory (Carlson and Zmud 1999). Recent upgrades permitting photo/video displays in Twitter feeds (Goel 2013) likely will enrich Twitter-based mass communication further.

Limitations and Future Research Suggestions

Four limitations circumscribe interpretation of our findings. First, use of LexisNexis and Factiva for traditional media coverage limited our ability to observe non-textual cues. We circumvented this by searching the Internet for archives of the newspaper articles and television shows in our data set, and limiting the sample for our analyses of frames and signature elements to those for which such archives were available. Second, as evident in Appendix D, as much as 23 percent of

the tweets in our dataset could represent digested messages. As such, our initial measures of frames and signature restrictions on Twitter may overestimate such restrictions by a corresponding amount. Third, a single transcriber was used for YouTube videos and Google Translate was used for translation, raising questions about the validity of transcriptions and translations. However, one of the first two researchers also watched all videos—even those in foreign languages—to identify sources and to get a sense of the content. So, limitations in transcription or translation could have influenced only our LIWC analyses of emotion.

Finally, the reflexive nature of case research, where the data used to test the researcher's conceptualization also inform that conceptualization and metric development, cannot be ignored. While ideal for studying new phenomena, conceptualizations so developed must be tested in other arenas. Beyond ideological control in legislative discourse, future research may investigate digital emancipation/hegemony in ideological groups, that is, groups held together by a shared set of values and beliefs and a certainty in the infallibility of those values and beliefs, especially violent ideological groups looking to extend their membership (Mumford et al. 2008). Specific questions our research prompts include: To what extent can social media relax structural constraints and content restrictions in such ideological contexts by permitting new voices and new frames? To what extent does relaxing structural constraints and content restrictions mitigate existing members' ideology and prospective recruits' inclinations to join?

Research Contributions and Practical Implications

Answering calls for researchers to consider how new media transform public discourse and policy (Lucas et al. 2013), our research makes two key contributions to understanding societal impacts of mass media digitization. First, through iterative engagement with our data and source literature, we identified six constructs germane to studying emancipation and hegemony and situated these constructs in a framework of digital media effects on society. This process permitted us to sharpen distinctions among *structural constraint* constructs previously popular in the MIS literature and introduce previously missing *content restriction* constructs. Second, by finding that social media support emancipation *and* hegemony, we uncover a paradox, noting the positive effects of digital media on structure, but negative effect on content. These findings call for increased efforts by MIS researchers to compare different digitized processes systematically in order to develop a more comprehensive theory of the effects of different forms of digitization.

Our findings have three key implications for activists, policy makers, and digital media platform owners. First, our findings contradict beliefs about digital "slacktivism" (e.g., McCafferty 2011). In fact, the vast number of actors who participated in the discourse via social media have been credited with influencing the course of the legislation (Thompson 2013), testament to individuals' motivation to engage online and the efficacy of online activism. Actors transformed the discourse directly by informing and lobbying each other on social media, and indirectly by providing copy for traditional media coverage. We therefore advise activists and policy makers that fears of digital slacktivism are unfounded. We encourage them to continue to use digital media toward fostering participative democracies.

Second, our findings regarding the hegemonic effects of digital media on the variety of frames surfaced calls for activists' and policy makers' vigilance in ensuring that disparate perspectives garner air time. Activists should forestall hegemonic effects by fostering a culture of inclusiveness within digital communities through steps such as disseminating inclusiveness manifestos that educate communities on the meaning of inclusiveness and its value to the community and develop community norms for inclusive behaviors; building a community core vigilant to violations of the inclusiveness norm who suppress anti-inclusive behaviors; soliciting minority perspectives. Activists and platform owners should deploy technology tools such as filters to enable users to visualize public discourse grouped by stance in order to promote community exposure to diverse frames. Platform owners also may consider implementing algorithms that down-weight, and thereby render less visible, the kind of heckling posts we observed to suppress expression of divergent views.

Third, our findings have implications for Internet governance. While privatization proponents believe reallocating control in arenas such as internet domain name functions would emancipate the Internet from the political apparatus (Maher 2014), opponents note that such measures would encumber it to corporate interests. Discussing SOPA, MSNBC's Chris Hayes noted,

The history of technology, dating back to when we had literally thousands of movie studios in this country and do-it-yourself radio stations, is that what starts out as disruptive and democratic becomes concentrated and co-opted.

Thus, the life cycle of ICTs is such that they are emancipatory in their infancy, but then evolve into hegemonic tools as platform ownership becomes concentrated in the hands of a few

(Rossman 2012). Policy makers must be vigilant that this lifecycle of earlier ICTs is not reproduced with digital media. To accomplish this, in debates over Internet governance, policy makers must give voice to *all* citizens, not only to those with economic or political power.

Conclusion

Mass media researchers presume hegemonic control by traditional media and emancipation by digital media (e.g., Castells 2007). A rare empirical comparison of traditional versus digital media supported this presumption, concluding that while social media had wrested some control from traditional media, traditional media commanded disproportionate influence even in the blogosphere (Meraz 2009). MIS research findings on small (Benbasat and Lim 1993; Kahai et al. 1998) and large (Faraj and Johnson 2011) group communication also lend credence to this expectation.

Our findings both substantiate and rebut popular media beliefs. *Constrained authorship* certainly was apparent in traditional, especially elite, media organizations' late arrival to the discourse; *citation* and *influence* also were more *constrained*; *signatures* were more *restricted*. Yet, when traditional media *did* participate, less *restricted framing* was evident in their coverage than in social media coverage. This suggests de Tocqueville's (1873) "inevitable evils" pertain also to a digitalized press and highlight the need for more careful scrutiny of social media.

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ARE SOCIAL MEDIA EMANCIPATORY OR HEGEMONIC? SOCIETAL EFFECTS OF MASS MEDIA DIGITIZATION IN THE CASE OF THE SOPA DISCOURSE

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Appendix A

The SOPA Legislation and Ensuing Discourse

The Stop Online Piracy Act (H.R. 3261) was introduced by U.S. Congressman Lamar Smith on October 26, 2011. Supported by the entertainment and mass media industries, SOPA aimed to enable copyright holders to block “foreign” websites that host pirated content. SOPA opposition contended the bill was open to abuse by copyright holders, Internet service providers, and the government due to its broad, ambiguous language. Sites like YouTube that unknowingly hosted pirated content could be shut down without a chance to defend themselves.

In the series of proposed legislation aimed at regulating the Internet (see Table A1), the SOPA discourse is considered a watershed moment in digital freedom (Thompson 2013). The discourse addressed not only SOPA, but also associated legislation such as the Preventing Real Online Threats to Economic Creativity and Theft of Intellectual Property Act (PIPA; S.B. 968), introduced by Senator Patrick Leahy on May 12, 2011, and the international Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA), signed on October 1, 2011, by eight countries including the United States.

Figure A1 depicts the timeline of key events in the SOPA discourse. Legislative support for the bill dwindled rapidly as online opposition—led by the then three-month-old digital rights advocacy group, Fight for the Future (FFTF)—to the bill grew. On October 19, 2011, FFTF launched the FreeBieber.org site, satirizing effects of the bills. On November 9, tech industry leaders asked FFTF to present ideas for a protest against SOPA. FFTF proposed a blackout, for which they wrote and disseminated software and tools. The next day, the group also launched the AmericanCensorship.org website, which supplied much of the information disseminated online. The first blackout of major Internet sites, promoted as American Censorship Day (November 16), coincided with the House Judiciary Committee’s first hearing on SOPA. Discourse about the bills grew again as Internet companies called out hosting company GoDaddy for its support of the bills. The discourse culminated in online calls to boycott GoDaddy; FFTF’s GoDaddyBoycott.org site documented the boycott. To a lesser extent, the Entertainment Software Association’s (ESA) support for the bills prompted online calls to boycott the 2012 E3 event, a key revenue source for the ESA. About this time, ProPublica released a report online documenting the relationship between technology and media companies’ financial contributions to legislators and their positions on the bills. Major Internet companies mobilized a second protest blackout, SOPA Strike Day (January 18).

Table A1. History of Internet Regulation

Legislation	Date		
	Proposed	Signed into Law	Overtaken
Trading with the Enemy Act (TWEA)	1957	N/A	In effect
Communications Decency Act (CDA)	1-Feb-1995	8-Feb-96	Partially, in 1997
Digital Millennium Copyright Act (DMCA)	29-Jul-1997	28-Oct-98	In effect
Child Online Protection Act (COPA)	30-Apr-1998	21-Oct-98	21-Jan-2009
Children's Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA)	17-Sep-1998	21-Apr-00	In effect
Children's Internet Protection Act (CIPA)	19-Jan-1999	21-Dec-00	In effect
Neighborhood Children's Internet Protection Act (NCIPA)	19-Jan-1999	21-Dec-00	In effect
Deleting Online Predators Act (DOPA)	9-May-2006	Not passed	N/A
Prioritizing Resources and Organization for Intellectual Property Act (PRO-IP Act)	5-Dec-2007	13-Oct-08	In effect
Protecting Cyberspace as a National Asset Act (PCNAA)	10-Jun-2010	Not passed	N/A
Combating Online Infringement and Counterfeits Act (COICA)	20-Sep-2010	Not passed	N/A
Executive Cyberspace Coordination Act (ECCA)	16-Mar-2011	Not passed	N/A
Commercial Felony Streaming Act (Ten Strikes)	12-May-2011	Not passed	N/A
Preventing Real Online Threats to Economic Creativity and Theft of Intellectual Property Act (Protect-IP Act or PIPA)	12-May-2011	Not passed	N/A
Protecting Children from Internet Pornographers Act (PCIPA)	25-May-2011	Not passed	N/A
Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA)	26-Oct-2011	Not passed	N/A
Cyber Intelligence Sharing and Protection Act (CISPA)	30-Nov-2011	Not passed	N/A
Do Not Track Kids Act	14-Nov-2013	Not passed	N/A
Internet Gambling Regulation and Tax Enforcement Act	14-Nov-2013	Not passed	N/A
Open Internet Preservation Act	3-Feb-2014	Not passed	N/A
Internet Freedom Act	21-Feb-2014	Not passed	N/A
Online Competition and Consumer Choice Act	17-June-2014	Not passed	N/A
Marketplace and Internet Tax Fairness Act	15-July-2014	Not passed	N/A

FFTF reported over 115,000 sites participated in the blackout, prompting 10 million signatures to online petitions, 8 million calls to legislators, and 4 million emails,¹ and culminating in legislators' widespread withdrawal of support for the bills. Through this period, mainstream media coverage of the bills was low, visible mainly in the December 1 Colbert Report, the January 12 coverage by Jon Stewart and Erin Burnett, and the January 15 Chris Hayes show, prompting speculation that the dearth of coverage reflected media companies' economic interest in minimizing public awareness of the bill (e.g., Dimiero 2012).

¹Participation information was obtained from <http://www.sopastrike.com/numbers/>.

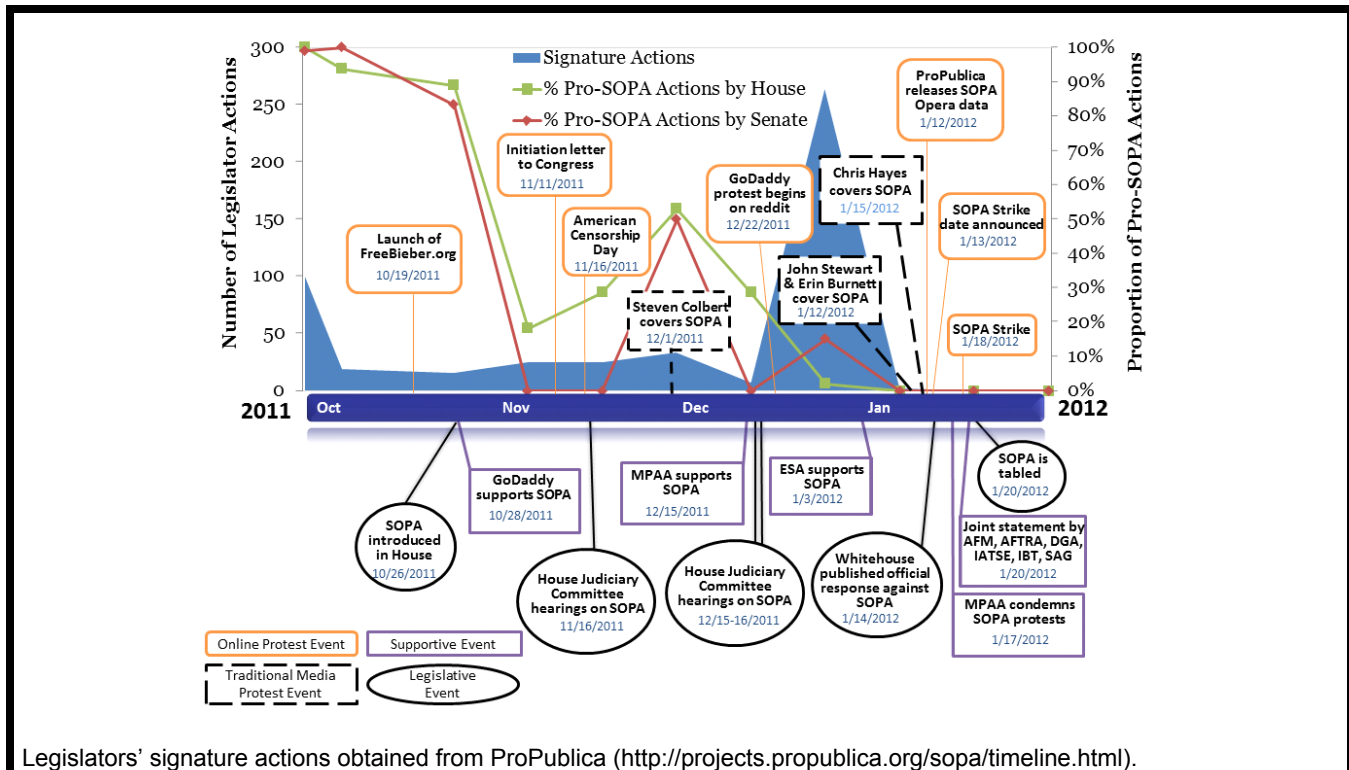


Figure A1. SOPA Timeline

Appendix B

Societal Functions and Dysfunctions of Mass Media

The presence of media free from political control or influence is a widely held barometer of civil liberty (Puddington 2014). In democratic regimes, “the press, as an institution, constitutes a viable base from which to stand up to government and concentrated corporate power” (Hachten 2005, p. 33). Mass media are the “connective tissue” of democracies, “the principal means through which citizens and their elected representatives communicate” (Gunther and Mughan 2000, p. 1). They enforce social norms “by ‘exposing’ conditions which are at variance with public moralities” (Lazarsfeld and Merton 2000, p. 236). Mass media researchers have debated the societal functions and dysfunctions of mass media (e.g., Althusser 2001; Gramsci 2005; Marshall 1998), which we briefly consider below.

Functions of Mass Media

Research suggests that mass media play five key societal functions, summarized in Table B1. First, mass media perform the function of **inclusion**. We see this function reflected in Dahlberg’s (2001a; 2001b) concern that individuals be able to express their interests free from state and economic power, in Ferree et al.’s (2002) concern that autonomous actors have standing in discourse, in Hachten’s (2005) concern for individuals’ participation in self-government, and in Franquet i Calvet et al.’s (2013) concern that individuals have the ability to disseminate content. Second, mass media serve a **democratization** function. We see this function reflected in Dahlberg’s (2001a; 2001b), Ferree et al.’s, and Franquet i Calvet et al.’s concern for a rational exchange of views through individual reflexivity or self-criticism and ability to understand others’ viewpoints. Third, mass media serve to **expose the truth** (Hachten 2005), visible also in Dahlberg’s (2001b) concern for sincerity, Ferree et al.’s concern for transparency, and Franquet i Calvet et al.’s concern for content evaluation. Fourth, mass media permit individuals’ self-fulfillment through **creative expression** (Hachten 2005) and their ability to share their personal narrative (Ferree et al. 2002). Fifth, mass media **enhance community**, enforcing norms (Lazarsfeld and Merton 2000), fostering a sense of shared identity and values (Dahlberg 2001a), and fostering a stable social order, while also providing the foundation necessary for societal change (Hachten 2005; Swidler 1986).

Table B1. Functions of Mass Media

Synthesized Functions	Inclusion	Democratization	Truth Exposure	Creative Expression	Community Enhancement
Lazarsfeld and Merton (2000)					Norm enforcement
Dahlberg (2001a)	Expression of individual interests	Rational discourse			Communal identity and values
Dahlberg (2001b)	Freedom from state and economic power; inclusiveness and equality	Exchange and critique of validity claims; reflexivity; role-taking	Sincerity		
Ferree et al. (2002)	Standing to autonomous, grassroots actors	Mutually respectful, civil dialogue; avoidance of premature closure	Transparency	Individual narrative	
Hachten (2005)	Self-government through participation		Uncovering of the truth	Self-fulfillment through self-expression	Balance stability and change
Franquet i Calvet et al. (2013)	Content dissemination	Debate	Content evaluation		

Dysfunctions of Mass Media

Even in democratic regimes, critical theorists posit that mass media can be dysfunctional, often co-opted into perpetuating the interests of the power elites (Marcuse 1964), and becoming one of the “ideological state apparatuses” or institutions through which those with economic or political power shape public consciousness (Althusser 2001). Prior research has identified three ways in which media can be dysfunctional and bias public consciousness. The first is in decisions whether to cover an issue. Through their status conferral capability, that is, legitimation of “selected policies, persons and groups which receive the support of mass media” (Lazarsfeld and Merton 2000, p. 235), mass media often display a **selection bias** (i.e., failure to cover a newsworthy issue). This may be deliberate, attributable to a commercial bias (Earl et al. 2004), or unintended, such as when news organizations’ surveillance fails to reveal an issue (Graber 2010). The second bias is in decisions about whose voice to represent. This **source bias** emanates in two ways. First, a class bias arises from media owners’ “close ties with other influential business and political leaders” (Baylor 1996, p. 243). Second, an inertia bias stems from journalists’ dependence on routine sources “including official proceedings, government or agency press releases, and public officials” (Baylor 1996, p. 243; also Nucci and Kubey 2007), subconsciously or consciously privileging official interpretations (e.g., Gans 2005; Tuchman 1978). The third way in which media bias public consciousness is through decisions about how to report on an issue. This **framing bias** is effected via attribute-setting—emphasizing particular attributes of an issue or of an event or person relevant to the issue, while ignoring others, thereby providing the public with one-sided “issue-related criteria for evaluating” objects associated with the issue (Scheufele 2000, p. 407).

Appendix C

Approach for Assessing Frames/Signature Elements

To analyze framing and signature restrictions more systematically, we sampled messages (articles, shows, tweets, and video posts) from each of the four media (summarized in Table C1). For traditional media, we sampled from articles and shows for which we were able to find online archives, so as not to underestimate traditional media use of visual and music signature elements. For social media, we drew random samples of tweets and posts from the entire data set. One researcher then coded each message. We coded for the presence of pro- and anti-diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames, and for the presence of each of the six signature elements. We assessed inter-rater reliability as Cohen’s (1960) kappa, based on a random set of 100 messages from the four media that was coded by a second researcher. Inter-rater reliability averaged 0.94 for frames, ranging from 0.82 to 1.00, and 0.91 for signature elements, ranging from 0.82 to 1.00.

Table C1. Description of Media Samples for Frames and Signature Elements Sample Attributes

Sample Attributes	NEWSPAPER	TELEVISION	TWITTER	YOUTUBE
Messages in sample	75	25	1,500	100
Total messages	338	85	1,067,319	1,065
Percent of data sampled	22.19%	29.40%	0.14%	9.40%

Table C2. Proportion of Sample Displaying Different Perspectives[†]

Type of Frame	NEWSPAPER	TELEVISION	TWITTER	YOUTUBE
Proportion of Sample Displaying Pro-SOPA Frames				
Diagnostic	0.63	0.68	0.01	0.25
Prognostic	0.36	0.44	0.00	0.05
Motivational	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00
Proportion of Sample Displaying Anti-SOPA Frames				
Diagnostic	0.47	0.44	0.14	0.68
Prognostic	0.87	0.92	0.12	0.76
Motivational	0.13	0.04	0.33	0.58

[†]Numbers need not add up to 1 because a message could display neither or both perspectives.

Table C3. Proportion of Sample Displaying Each Signature Element

Signature Element	NEWSPAPER	TELEVISION	TWITTER	YOUTUBE
Metaphors	0.25	0.48	0.01	0.18
Exemplars	0.24	0.32	0.15	0.37
Catchphrases	0.05	0.16	0.34	0.33
Depictions	0.36	0.60	0.03	0.23
Visual images	0.25	0.68	0.07	0.36
Sarcasm/Irony	0.03	0.16	0.06	0.10
Music	0.01	0.08	0.01	0.08

Table C2 depicts the proportions of pro- and anti-SOPA diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames displayed across media. Except for anti-SOPA motivational frames, which were most conspicuous on social media, we see higher rates of frames being offered on traditional than on social media. This suggests a tendency for traditional media to emphasize intellectual merits in messages, whereas social media messages tend to use evocative appeal coupled with intellectual appeal, and sometimes, rely solely on evocative appeal.

Table C3 depicts the proportion of messages using each of the seven signature elements. Usage rates generally were highest on television, except for exemplars and music, which appeared with the highest frequency on YouTube, and catchphrases, which appeared with the highest frequency on Twitter. Extensive use of catchphrases on Twitter partly reflects the necessity of efficiency borne of the 140-character limit, as well as an affinity for catchphrases and hashtags in Internet culture. This cultural aspect is reflected in the prolific use of catchphrases on YouTube as well, where communication was not similarly limited. Internet qualities such as low production costs enable musicians to publish musical content on YouTube. Finally, the plethora of SOPA-violating content on YouTube allowed authors to easily identify exemplars relating to their own—or other popular—channels.

Appendix D

Analysis of Likelihood of Digested Tweets

We first considered the possibility that tweets within our data set (i.e., tweets from 11/17/2011 to 1/18/2012) were digested. Table D1 reports the proportions of tweets emanating from the same author within varying time windows.

However, not all tweets from a single author within a particular time window necessarily represent a single train of thought, fragmented across multiple tweets. Some repeat tweets could represent substantially different messages. To provide a better understanding of the extent to which tweets were digested, we undertook a more in-depth analysis of the 102 tweets occurring within the first five hours of the SOPA discourse (Table D2). Of these, 13 were from five authors who tweeted more than once. Felix Catus (@pure3v1L) tweeted at 5:44 p.m. and 5:53 p.m. In his second tweet, he simply credited his source DemandProgress, which he had not done on his first tweet. Kairi (@CollectiveDimen) tweeted at 6:16 p.m., 6:35 p.m., 7:02 p.m., and 7:50 p.m. Her second and third tweets were duplicates, reiterating the message from her first, but prefacing it with a call to action. Her fourth tweet attempted to engage another user in a conversation about the legislation. Brass Cupcake (@cmdfv) tweeted twice at 8:13 p.m. and then at 8:14 p.m., with the last two addressed to a single user, but providing two different links. Rob (@Nuttysdrums) tweeted at 8:12 p.m. and 8:27 p.m. His first tweet retweeted DemandProgress's 4:48 p.m. tweet; his second tweet reiterated the first, changing "breaks the net" to "set to crush the Internet." Kristine Schachinger (@schachin) tweeted at 9:05 p.m. and 9:09 p.m., each tweet referencing the EFF, albeit with slightly different verbiage. These repetitive tweets strongly suggest a single train of thought—either duplicates or digests—and contribute to an over-estimate of the number of messages posted on Twitter. The texts of messages from a single author—in particular, the four tweets from Kairi (@CollectiveDimen)—suggest that messages posted within about 1½ hours tended to represent a single train of thought, which then began to diverge. Using a two-hour window from Table D1, we estimate as much as 23% of the tweets appearing in Table 2 were part of digested messages. While these digests do not affect our network diagram, which was constructed based on the entire study period, nor the network/structural constraint metrics, which were developed based on the totality of tweets within each of the four interim periods, they may result in underestimation of use of frames and signature elements on Twitter.

Table D1. Proportion of Possibly Digested Tweets

Time Window	Proportion of Repeated Tweets	Time Window	Proportion of Repeated Tweets
1 minute	5%	½ hour	18%
5 minutes	11%	1 hour	21%
10 minutes	14%	2 hours	23%
15 minutes	16%	24 hours	34%

Table D2. The First Five Hours of SOPA Tweets (October 26, 2011)[†]

	Time	Author	Tweet
1	4:46 p.m.	Sabrina Stevens (@TeacherSabrina)	Say no to the PROTECT IP bill, which could threaten sites like Facebook, Twitter & YouTube: act.demandprogress.org/act/sopa/?refe... via @demandprogress #p2 #1u
2	4:48 p.m.	Pipa kills the www (@PIPAKillstheWWW)	PROTECT IP Renamed E-PARASITES Act; Would Create The Great Firewall Of America techdirt.com/articles/20111... via @Techdirt #SOPA #PIPA
3	4:56 p.m.	Demand Progress (@demandprogress)	#OccupyTheInternet: It's here – and it basically breaks the Internet. Take Action and RT: act.demandprogress.org/act/sopa/?refe... via @demandprogress
4	4:59 p.m.	804R (@The804R)	@notch HOLY SHIT! act.demandprogress.org/act/sopa/?refe... For everyone sake, RETWEET! D:
5	5:00 p.m.	Owen Hall (@Hallwings)	#OccupyTheInternet+RT: New Blacklist Bill could shut down Twitter. For real. TAKE ACTION: act.demandprogress.org/act/sopa/?refe... via @demandprogress
...			

Table D2. The First Five Hours of SOPA Tweets (October 26, 2011)[†] (Continued)

	Time	Author	Tweet
23	5:44 p.m.	Felix Catus (@pure3v1L)	"#OccupyTheInternet: It's here – and it basically breaks the Internet. Take Action and RT: act.demandprogress.org/act/sopa/?refe..." @cmtello
24	5:53 p.m.	Felix Catus (@pure3v1L)	"@demandprogress: #OccupyTheInternet: It's here – and it basically breaks the Internet. Take Action and RT: act.demandprogress.org/act/sopa/?refe..." @cmtello
...			
27	6:16 p.m.	Kairi (@CollectiveDimen)	New Blacklist Bill could shut down Twitter. For real. TAKE ACTION: act.demandprogress.org/sopa/?refe... via @demandprogress
...			
32	6:35 p.m.	Kairi (@CollectiveDimen)	TAKE ACTION: New Internet Blacklist Bill Breaks The Internet! Demand Progress act.demandprogress.org/act/sopa/?refe...
...			
35	7:02 p.m.	Kairi (@CollectiveDimen)	TAKE ACTION: New Internet Blacklist Bill Breaks The Internet! Demand Progress act.demandprogress.org/act/sopa/?refe...
...			
39	7:50 p.m.	Kairi (@CollectiveDimen)	@Katersoneseven You probably won't even see this but please take the time to read it if you do... act.demandprogress.org/act/sopa/?refe... you don't hav to sign
...			
53	8:12 p.m.	Rob (@Nutt drums)	RT @demandprogress: #OccupyTheInternet: It's here&it basically breaks the net. Take Actions and RT: act.demandprogress.org/act/sopa/?refe... via @demandprogress
...			
55	8:13 p.m.	Brass Cupcake (@cmdfv)	Final push! Kill the Internet Blacklist bill! Act.demandprogress.org/letter/sopa/?a ...
...			
57	8:13 p.m.	Brass Cupcake (@cmdfv)	@santiagoblue7 Final push! Kill the Internet Blacklist bill! Act.demandprogress.org/letter/sopa/?a...
58	8:14 p.m.	Brass Cupcake (@cmdfv)	@santiagoblue7 Final push! Kill the Internet Blacklist bill! Goo.gl/iUzVU do it now!
...			
68	8:27 p.m.	Rob (@Nutt drums)	#OccupyTheInternet+RT: New Blacklist Bill set to crush the Internet. TAKE ACTION: act.demandprogress.org/act/sopa/?refe... via @demandprogress
...			
84	9:05 p.m.	Kristine Schachinger (@schachin)	Help the @EFF Stop the NEW Online Internet Blacklist Legislation > bit.ly/sqRLcX #seo #sopa
85	9:09 p.m.	Kristine Schachinger (@schachin)	Fight for free speech online – reject Internet Blacklist Legislation. Eff.org/r.C8A #PROTECTIP #SOPA via @eff

[†]Each color represents a different author.

Appendix E

Distribution of Source Citation Ties Across Participants

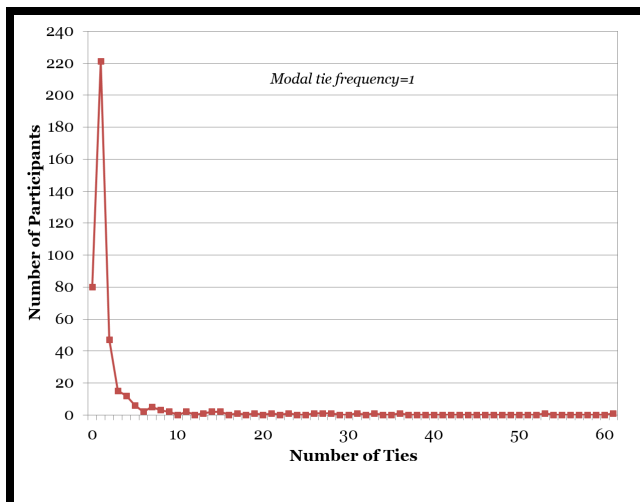


Figure E1. Newspaper

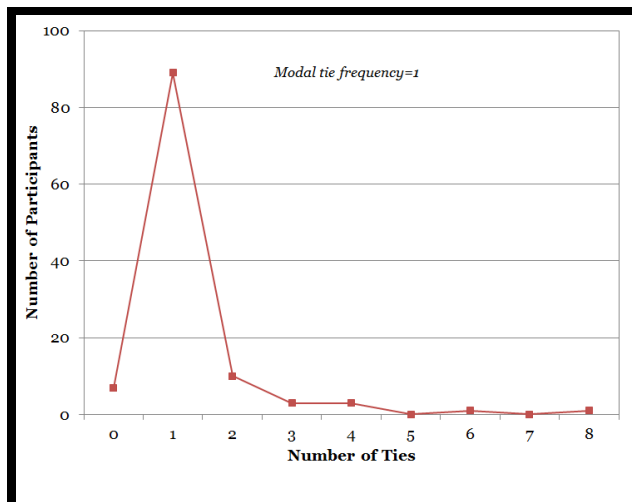


Figure E2. Television

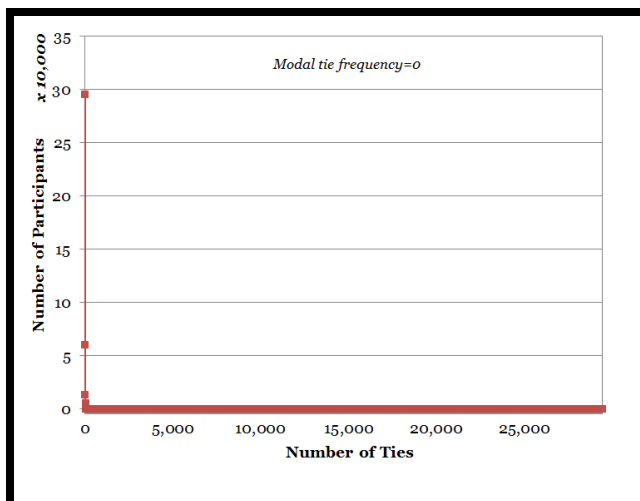


Figure E3. Twitter

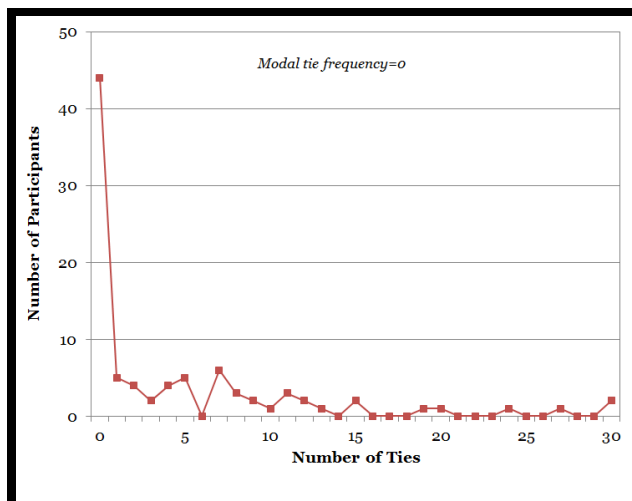
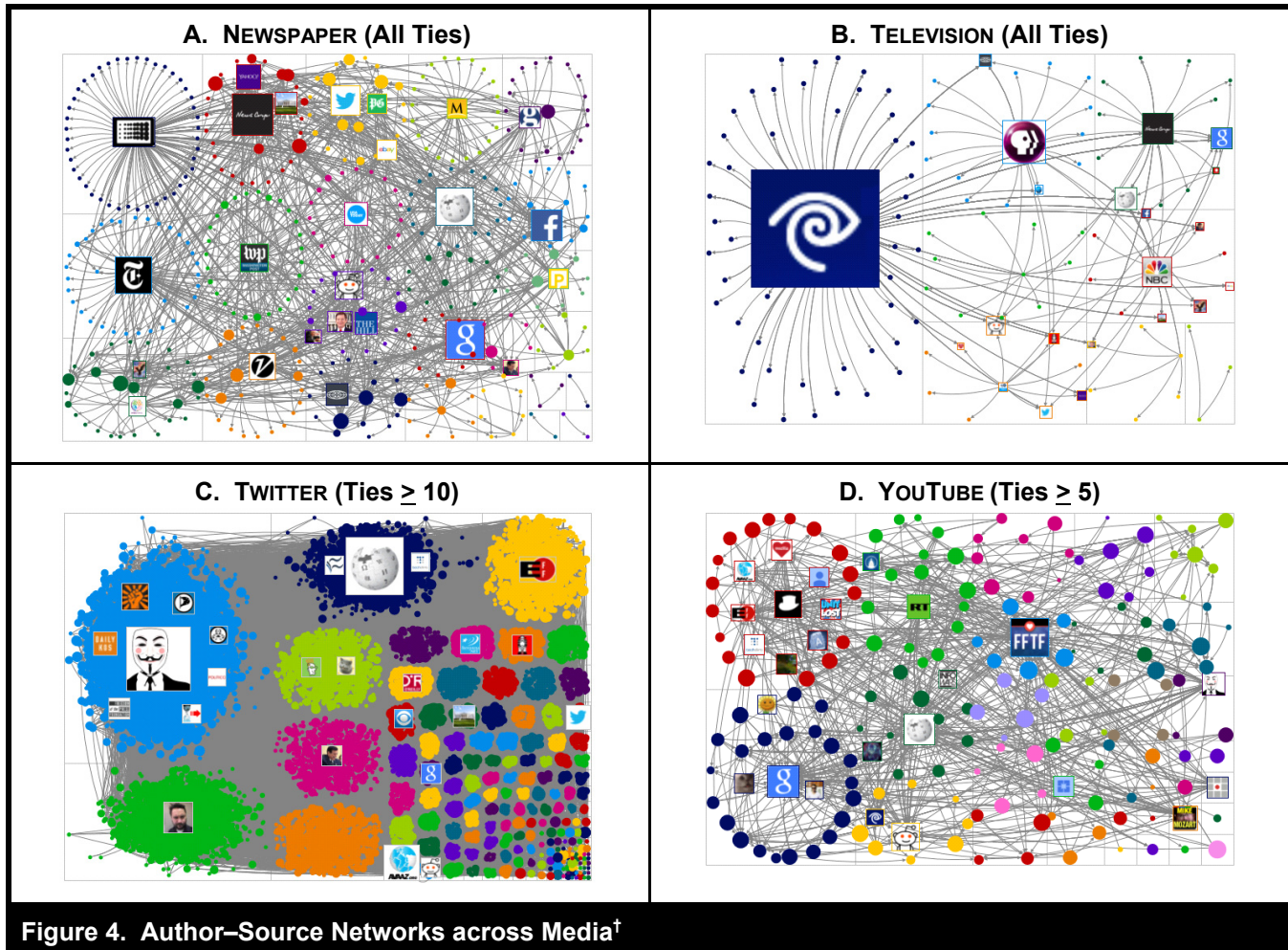






































































Figure E4. YouTube

Appendix F

Legend for Network Actors (Figure 4)



[†]Legend provided on the following page. Node size depicts actors' relative influence. Groupings, depicted by node colors and position on grid, represent distinct communities. Only prominent actors in social media networks are depicted because of the density of networks.

	Adrian Isen		Google		Public Knowledge
	Anonymous		Guardian Media Group		reddit
	AOL		The Hill		Relax News
	Avaaz		House of Representatives		Russia Today
	Behemebash		Infowars		SOPA Means Censored
	Ben Baranovsky		Lamar Smith		Southeven1
	Boing Boing		MediaNews Group		Surnamehere
	CBS		MF		Tech Dirt
	The Cheezburger Network		Mike Mozart		Tech Republic
	The Christian Science Monitor		Mozilla		Telecomix
	The Daily Kos		Motion Picture Association of America		Time Warner
	Daily Variety		NBC		Total Biscuit/The Cynical Brit
	Darrell Issa		Net Coalition		Twitter
	Deutsche Welles		News Corp		Unit Lost – Great British Gaming
	Dustyboi234		The New York Times		Gannett Company
	eBay		Occupy Wall Street		US Chamber of Commerce
	Electronic Frontier Foundation		O'Reilly Media		Nash Holdings LLC
	Euro News		Patrick Leahy		White House
	Facebook		PBS		WikiLeaks
	Fight for the Future		Post Media Network		Wikipedia
	Freedom of the Press Foundation		Pirate Party		Wil Wheaton
	The Free Press		Pittsburgh Post Gazette		Yahoo
	GoDaddy		Politico		

Appendix G

Illustrations of Interpretive Media Packages

Abbreviations Used

Signatures

■ No Signature [M]etaphor [E]xemplars [C]atchphrases [D]epictions [V]isual images [S]arcasm/Irony m[U]sic

Media

AB: American Banker	DW: Deutsche Welle	RN: RelaxNews	TOR: The Oregonian
BD: Business Day	FBN: Fox Business Network	SJM: San Jose Mercury	TW: Tulsa World
CAM: City A.M.	FNN: Fox News Network	SLT: Salt Lake Tribune	TWP: The Washington Post
CC: Comedy Central	HM: Hobart Mercury	SPP: St. Paul Pioneer Press	TWT: Twitter
CDP: Claremore Daily Progress	MTN: McClatchy Tribune News	TBT: The Bismark Tribune	USA: USA Today
CSM: Christian Science Monitor	NYT: The New York Times	TFE: The Financial Express	WSJ: Wall Street Journal
DC: Daily Camera	NP: National Post	TG: The Guardian	YTB: YouTube
DV: Daily Variety	PBS: Public Broadcasting Service	TIE: The Indian Express	

Notes: The purpose of the illustrations below is to depict the range of frames and signatures from Tables 3 and 4 and differences in frame emphases and signature use across media. The following is not an exhaustive set of frames and signatures communicated across the discourse. Direct quotes are italicized; descriptions or paraphrases appear as regular text. Quotes may illustrate multiple frames and signatures, but may not be repeated for brevity.



Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
Diagnostic Frames		
Anti-piracy/counterfeiting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Google ... fail[ed] to reject advertising business from pirates - specifically, online Canadian pharmacies (NYT 12/15/11) Sites that specialize in stolen goods attract lots of users and lots of ads (Rep. Mel Watt, TWP 11/17/11) [Foreign Web sites] are stealing our profits, they're stealing our jobs... (Lamar Smith, NYT 1/13/12) The pro-legislation Copyright Alliance cites a report from the International Chamber of Commerce saying that piracy and counterfeiting cost businesses \$775 billion annually and puts 2.5 million jobs at risk worldwide. (CNN 1/6/12) [M] overseas sites ... operate as a free bazaar for illegal downloads ... of digital content (CNN 12/22/11) [D] Smith's Stop Online Piracy Act is aimed at foreign sites dedicated to pirated material (TWP 11/17/11) [D] Foreign thieves (Lamar Smith, TWP 1/15/2012) [D] Now joining us now to defend thieves and pirates, please welcome Professor of Internet Law at Harvard, Jonathan Zittrain (Stephen Colbert, CC 12/1/11) [C] Rogue Websites: Stealing the American Dream (WSJ 1/18/12) [V] Skull and crossbones flag on keyboard (TG 1/9/12) [V] The Pirate Bay site screenshot (NYT 12/15/11) [V] Screen shots of sites facilitating access to pirated movies (PBS 12/15/11) [S] Makes you long for a world where people respected works of others... {Imagine all The People playing} (Jon Stewart, CC 1/18/12) [U] Imagine all The People (Jon Stewart, CC 1/18/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Stop Online Piracy Act (#SOPA) may help prevent illegal distribution of music, movies, software, etc. (SafeNetInc, TWT 11/23/11) 25 percent of the bandwidth of the internet is, by an independent study, the result of illegal traffic (Rick Cotton, YTB 1/3/12) [M] It's wrong to steal a 30-cent pack of gum, and it's a felony to steal a \$30,000 car. (Betsy Megel, Exec Director, Physical production, Paramount/Vids654321, YTB 11/19/11) [E] But a \$30 million movie is pirated and put up on the internet and people don't blink an eye (Betsy Megel, Exec Director, Physical production, Paramount/Vids654321, YTB 11/19/11) [D] Piracy leader is Google who streams movies free, sells advts around them. No wonder pouring millions into lobbying. (Rupert Murdoch, TWT 1/14/12) [U] Firewall (Leah Kauffman, YTB 1/16/12)

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
Censorship/ First Amendment violation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>The Stop Online Piracy Act ... is a clear effort by the federal government to censor the Internet</i> (WSJ 12/31/11) ■ <i>Wikipedia would be defined as a search engine and would not be able to even link to something like the Pirate Bay, even in our encyclopedic description of what Pirate Bay is. I think that's a real problem. That raises really serious First Amendment issues</i> (Wikipedia co-founder Jimmy Wales, CNN 1/17/12) <p>[M] <i>China's Great Firewall</i> (Rebecca MacKinnon, NYT 11/16/11)</p> <p>[M] #USACensored (BD 12/2/11)</p> <p>[V] Screenshots of protest websites (USA 1/18/12)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>These bills aren't simply unconstitutional, they are anticonstitutional</i> (eric_andersen, TWT 12/21/11) ■ <i>Wanna hear a secret? #SOPA has nothing to do with piracy. #RIAA & #MPAA work with pirates...It's about power to censor</i> (emp, TWT 12/27/11) ■ <i>Yale law prof Jack Balkin: #SOPA 'enables a system of private prior restraint,' violates the First Amendment</i> (WLLegal, TWT 1/7/12) ■ <i>Stop Internet #Censorship! Sign the global petition @Avaaz urging the US Congress to reject the #Blacklist Bill #SOPA</i> http://t.co/03n2bwbD (TheSpiralSoul, TWT 12/27/11) ■ <i>Tell your Senators to vote NO on Internet censorship. This is not China. #SOPA @ClaireMc @RoyBlunt</i> (Teddy2500, TWT 12/27/11) <p>[M] <i>Is #SOPA the beginning of the end?!</i> @KeithOlbermann @Lawrence @maddow <i>When did we become China? Who said it is OK to squash 1st amendment?</i> (acoria, TWT 12/27/11)</p> <p>[M] <i>SOPA is the white guys' version of Great Firewall of China.</i> #sopa (jakeyjunkie, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] <i>Right now, Congress is considering two bills that could potentially turn the United States into a censorship zone similar to China</i> (Evan Hans, Editor-in-Chief of Wired Magazine, YTB 1/18/12)</p> <p>[V] Screenshot of Wikipedia protest page (ABC Action News, YTB 1/18/12)</p> <p>[V] ① [V] ② [V] ③</p> <p>[S] <i>Dear Congress and President Obama: What part of your oath to uphold and defend the Constitution do you not understand? #SOPA #NDAA</i> (wilw, TWT 12/14/11_)</p> <p>[U] <i>Internet Fight Song</i> (Ghosty Boy, YTB 1/16/12)</p>
Drastic action is required	[M] <i>In order to slay this dragon, we need more than a fly swatter</i> (Chamber of Commerce counsel Steve Tepp, CSM 1/17/12)	
Illegal conduct is not free speech ... It's stealing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>Illegal conduct is not free speech. Illegal conduct is what it is. It's stealing.</i> (MPAA Chairman, CNN 1/18/12) 	
Illegal Web sites abroad stealing American IP	<p>[D] <i>...we cannot stand by and watch while American companies and the jobs they support are being bled by foreign criminals who are taking advantage of a massive loophole in our law enforcement capabilities.</i> (Chamber of Commerce's Steve Tepp, CNN 1/6/12)</p> <p>[D] <i>Google ... paid \$500 million to settle a criminal investigation ... for ... directing American consumers to foreign illegal Web sites</i> (Rep. Lamar Smith, FBN 1/18/12)</p>	

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
Imitation is not the same as copyright infringement		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Charles Caleb Colton wrote "Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery." Will we be censored for imitations? Stop theft, not flattery. #SOPA (heathershore, TWT 1/18/12) ■ The Oxford English Dictionary defines counterfeit as, quote, a fraudulent imitation of something else. But when a file is copied on the Internet, it is exactly the same as the original. Not an imitation, and it is not stolen, since the original was not removed. The information is simply being shared free of charge. So counterfeiting has nothing to do with it. (Anonymous, YTB 1/1/12)
Internet blacklist bill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Internet giants went on the attack on Wednesday, claiming legislation aimed at tackling online piracy would create an "internet blacklist bill" that would encourage censorship, kill jobs and give US authorities unrivaled powers over the world's websites. (TG 11/16/11) [E] It's an Internet blacklist bill. It says that if there's an overseas Web site, let's say it's FamilyPhotos.com and you stick your vacation photos up there and a few pages on that Web site are infringing, ... then all of a sudden copyright holders in the U.S. government can get a blacklist order saying that AT&T and Verizon will pretend that Web site doesn't exist. You can't get to FamilyPhotos.com anymore. (CNET Chief Political Consultant Declan McCullagh, CNN 1/17/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ RT @riquo: Stop Internet #Censorship! Sign the global petition #Blacklist Bill #SOPA @CristobalJod @cerogaleria @circlein2square (wherewolfe, TWT 11/17/11) ■ Please join us in efforts to stop #Internet #blacklists and #censorship! http://t.co/Bu3GnRjo #COICA #SOPA #PIPA #STOPSOPA #BlackoutSOPA (TechBytesXpress, TWT 1/17/2012) ■ SOPA ... would allow the Attorney General to create a blacklist of sites they see as engaging in infringing activity – to be blocked by ISP providers, search engines, payment providers, and advertising networks (TheAlyonaShow, YTB 11/18/11) ■ SOPA and PIPA are Congress' attempt to create the first US "internet blacklist" of sites declared "rogue" by the government. (Smartassawhip, YTB 112911) ■ create a blacklist that would be monitored by the government (MrCrist1an, YTB 114212)
Legislators are incompetent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ [I]t's a major step backwards in federal Internet policy to have Congress and courts begin designing the architecture of the Internet... you don't create the collateral damage by having members of Congress design technology solutions that won't work (Markham Erickson, PBS 12/15/11) [M] Washington regulating the Internet is akin to a gorilla playing a Stradivarius (WSJ 11/28/11) [M] Jack Valenti (former head of the Motion Picture Association of America) at one point said that the VCR was to the movie industry what the Boston Strangler was to women home alone (Senator Ron Wyden, TOR 12/25/11) [D] I'm not a nerd. (Reps. Zoe Lofgren, Mel Watt, and Darrell Issa, CC 1/18/12) [D] You order your movie and guess what? You can order 10 of them delivered to you and the delivery charge is free, right? Ten movies, streaming across that Internet ... the Internet is not something that you just dump something on. It's not a big truck. It's a series of tubes. (Senator Ted Stevens, MSNBC 1/18/12) [S] These bills do surgery on the Internet and yet they haven't talked to a doctor (Rep. Jason Chaffetz SLT 1/15/12) [S] [SOPA is] like coming up with a plan to prevent teen pregnancy that includes filling penises with cement (Jon Stewart, CC 1/18/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> [M] #SOPA is a big fat mistake proposed by people who barely know how to check their e-mail. It's like having brain surgery performed by Borat. (Q_Entertainment, TWT 1/18/12) [M] It's like putting toddlers at the controls of a 747... (TotalBiscuit, YTB 1/17/12) [E] important piece of legislation ... IP ... that's of course dealing with informational processing (HarryReid/TheAlyonaShow, YTB 1/16/12) [C] #DontBreakTheInternet (NancyPelosi, TWT 11/17/11) [D] #SOPA: 'People who could not distinguish between a domain name and an IP address trying to regulate the Internet (TWP, TWT 12/16/11) [D] A bunch of confused middle-aged politicians are making rules for the internet. This is like watching dolphins pick out running shoes (MaxScoville, TWT 12/16/11) [D] RT @yerdua: Luddites regulating the internet is as absurd as straight men making decisions about gay marriage. Oh. Dammit. #SOPA (DrewWhitehouse, TWT 11/17/11) [D] #SOPA Nerd is not an insult. "Ignorant legislator" – now those are some fightin' words in the Wild Tech West. (KarenReilly, TWT 12/15/11) [D] @NSlayton @alphex That's really the ultimate problem w/ this legislation, that it's in the hands of Internet-ignorant old men. #SOPA (ZacAJE, TWT 1/15/12)

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
		<p>[D] <i>It's not a truck. RT @HotlineReid I wish Ted Stevens were here to explain #SOPA and #PIPA to me</i> (BlameTelford, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[D] <i>...not a nerd</i> (Rep Mel Watts/AlexisOhanian, YTB 1/16/12)</p> <p>[D] <i>You want to tell me that these guys that can barely use a keyboard should be debating this and passing legislation of this magnitude? I'm gonna go with 'no.' It's like putting toddlers at the controls of a 747, but not just a 747, every 747, 777, Airforce 320, every aircraft in the world. Do you think that's a good idea? No! But that's what's happening here, and that's dangerous</i> (TotalBiscuit, YTB 12/17/11)</p> <p>[D] <i>IP, that's of course dealing with informational pro... uh... with, with, intellectual property</i> (Senator Harry Reid/Keep The Web #OPEN, YTB 1/17/12)</p> <p>[D] <i>As one who has acknowledged in his opening statement that he was not a nerd and didn't understand a lot of the technological stuff...</i> (Rep. Mel Watt/ aplfisher, YTB 12/16/11)</p> <p>[D] <i>The internet is not a big truck, the internet is a series of tubes</i> (Rep. Ted Stevens/ TheDesertrave, YTB 1/18/12)</p> <p>[D] <i>SOPA=Seriously Opening Portals to Afflict; SOPA=Stupidity Only Politicians Acquire</i> (suaveTech, YTB 1/18/12)</p> <p>[S] <i>#SOPA sec.105 - How many wingnuts does it take to expand the definition of internet sites that "endanger public health?"</i> (alaskarobotics, TWT 12/19/11)</p> <p>[S] <i>We're gonna do surgery on the internet and we haven't had a doctor in the room tell us how we're gonna change these organs</i> (Center for Democracy & Technology, YTB 12/20/11)</p> <p>[U] <i>the internet is not ... a truck ... it's a series of tubes</i> (Ted Steven's CSPAN footage remixed by TheDesertrave, YTB 1/18/12)</p> <p>[U] <i>The Day the LOLCats Died</i> (LaughPong, YTB 1/17/12)🔴</p> <p>[U] <i>Internet Fight Song</i> (Ghosty Boy, YTB 1/16/12)</p>
Legislators are over-reacting	<p>[M] <i>[SOPA is the] equivalent of being angry and trying to take action against Ford just because a Mustang was used in a bank robbery</i> (reddit's Ohanian, CSM 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] <i>[SOPA is like] creating walled gardens patrolled by government censors</i> (TWP 12/11/11)</p> <p>[M] <i>Using a sledgehammer to kill a fly in a house ends up destroying the house while the fly continues to buzz around.</i> (TBT 1/2/12)</p> <p>[M] <i>The way we need to think about this is that Google is like a road. It is not the road's fault if someone is speeding or drag racing or driving down the road. That will be delivering content. You can't fault the road for what somebody does on the road.</i> (FBN 11/17/11)</p> <p>[M] <i>I'm imagining that we're about to obliterate the neighborhood that just had a burglary.</i> (Alexis Ohanian, MSNBC 1/15/12)</p> <p>[V] <i>Photograph of person clad in orange behind bars</i> (MSNBC 1/15/12)</p> <p>[S] <i>So according to the law you get less prison time for killing Michael Jackson than for singing one of his songs</i> (SJM</p>	<p>[M] <i>#sopa what's next congress, shut down the interstates because drug dealers use them to transport illegal drugs?</i> (novologic, TWT 12/19/11)</p> <p>[M] <i>If someone proposed a Bill to burn 100 Million Libraries-wouldn't we all condemn it as insanity? Stop #SOPA Internet Blacklist ~oa #ows</i> (OccupyLA, TWT 12/21/11)</p> <p>[M] <i>RT @LesVDavis: Using #SOPA & #PIPA to prevent piracy is like dropping A-bombs 2 discourage jaywalking! Save #Internet #FreeSpeech!</i> (LoucaLinda_Xo, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] <i>Using #SOPA & #PIPA 2 prevent piracy is like laying landmines in stores 2 discourage shoplifting! Save #Internet #FreeSpeech! #StopSOPA #OWS</i> (LesVDavis, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] <i>Internet is like a river - flowing, changing. #SOPA would poison the river ecosystem, to get rid of the ugly fish.</i> (robosoyo, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] <i>#SOPA is like outlawing tickling in an effort to</i></p>

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
	<p>12/2/11)</p> <p>[S] <i>What if there was an even tradeoff between theft and retribution? Like the artist actually got to get something out of the Internet company that was stealing from them? Like an eye for an iPod?</i> (Stephen Colbert, CC 12/1/11)</p>	<p>decrease the murder rate. http://t.co/h8Rs3rq (StoodTooClose, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] #SOPA is like burning down one Walmart because they sell knock-offs. Piracy will continue even if agencies burn down the internet. (TweetDeckTV, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] #SOPA is like banning cars and forcing people to use public transit because a bank robber might use a car as a getaway device. (jmsanders, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] #SOPA is like planting dynamite under a highway bridge in order to catch fleeing burglars then handing the trigger to someone who hates cars (silencewedge, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] RT @JSlayerUK: #SOPA is like releasing wild tigers in town to deal with urban foxes. Fewer foxes sure, but then we have to deal with MOTHERFUCKING TIGERS! (carawj, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] We haven't torn up our interstate highway system to prevent shipments of illegal goods. Why would we do the same to the Internet? #SOPA (cybertheorist, TWT 12/15/11)</p> <p>[M] @AJELive Agree with the intent of #SOPA, but it's like combatting plagiarism by breaking any printing-press that <i>might</i> have been involved. (lispacat, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] SOPA...would be like shutting down the gun store for a murder from a gun that was bought at that gun store (HoniBee, YTB 1/17/12)</p> <p>[M] ...invasion of privacy and 1984-esque tactics (Aaron Yes, YTB 12/13/11)</p> <p>[M] If you want an analogy... think about suing Toyota for the fact that some guy just ran into the side of your car with his Toyota car (TotalBiscuit, YTB12/17/11)</p> <p>[M] This bill is like burning down your house because you have an ant problem (NAVEMAN3, YTB11/22/11)</p> <p>[M] SOPA is like dealing with a lion that has escaped from the zoo by blasting some kittens with a flamethrower and kitten BBQ=bad!! (Sir TapTap, YTB 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] To explain this as a metaphor, it is akin to there being a crack house in a neighborhood where crimes are being committed. Now, the correct solution is you go in and bust the crack house, arrest it, and condemn it. That's a direct response. But, instead what we are trying to get at here is basically changing the street signs in the whole neighborhood hoping that people have a more difficult time trying to find the crack house. Leaving it there, but also making it more difficult to get to all the nearby houses and the nearby streets, screwing up everybody's GPS systems and creating a lot of lost and frustrated people. Many of whom had no intention and no desire to commit an illegal act nor have they committed an illegal act. (KhalidSMShahin, YTB 12/31/11)</p> <p>[M] ...think about the idea of suing Toyota for the fact that some guy just ran into the side of your car driving a Toyota (TotalBiscuit, YTB 1/17/12)</p> <p>[M] Suppose that a car thief steals a car on J Street, and,</p>

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
		<p><i>uh, he uses J Street to get, to make his getaway. So, in response, the government sends a bunch of bulldozers to crush J Street and remove it completely. Oh, and we find out furthermore, that the car thief has gone through I Street and K Street as well. Well they gotta go!</i> (PhantomAlucard, YTB 12/17/11)</p> <p>[V]  (Sir TapTap, YTB 1/18/12)</p> <p>[S] <i>Under #SOPA, you could get up to 5 years for downloading 1 Michael Jackson song. That's 1 year more than the doctor who killed him.</i> (Abie Philbin Bowman, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[S] <i>Overlays Paramount Executive Director Betsy Megel's message, A \$30 million movie is pirated and put on the Internet and people don't blink an eye, with Egads! Every movie download is worth \$30 million?</i> (Vids654321, YTB 11/19/11)</p> <p>[U] <i>Firewall (Say NO to #SOPA and #Protect-IP): http://t.co/lKGyhfTh via @youtube</i> (WhereisMaggieeee, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[U] <i>Internet Fight Song</i> (Ghosty Boy, YTB 1/16/12)</p> <p>[U] <i>Firewall</i> (Leah Kauffman, YTB 1/16/12)</p>
Legislators are pandering to entertainment industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>It's just frustrating to see legislation that was so clearly written by lobbyists and not technologists potentially become law</i> (reddit co-founder Alexis Ohanian, CNN 1/18/12) ■ <i>This is no time for politicians and industry lobbyists in Washington to be devising new Internet censorship mechanisms</i> (NYT 11/16/11) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>Congressmen who support #SOPA and how much money in donations they received to support it: http://t.co/telEw1cb #SOPAblockout #J18</i> (YourAnonNews, TWT 12/16/11) ■ <i>If you look at the people who have co-signed on the SOPA bill, people who have co-signed on PIPA, what you see is that they have cumulatively received millions and millions of dollars from the traditional media industry.</i> (Clay Shirky/ FBWalshyFTW, YTB 1/18/12) [D] <i>RT @normative: Just checking: Is there a single person not actively being bribed to say so who thinks #SOPA is a good idea? Haven't met 1 yet</i> (colonized, TWT 11/17/11) [D] <i>So Obama has thrown in his lot with Silicon Valley paymasters who threaten all software creators with piracy, plain thievery</i> (Rupert Murdoch, TWT 1/14/12) [D] <i>In a "Good vs evil" video, edited from the trailer from World of Warcraft for patch 3.3, Fall of The Lich King & The Lich King Death cinematic, Lamar Smith, as Arthas Menethil, was evil with a trebuchet, attacking Freedom, the Internet, the Wise Unknown, and the Internet Hero. As the Internet Hero (King Lich) lay dying, he said: "I see only darkness before me." Lamar Smith entered, picked up the Internet remains, and said: "It must be mine."</i> (EponymousGaming, YTB 12/22/11) [U] <i>Dan Bull-SOPA Cabana #SOPA music video talking about what life will be like if SOPA passes http://t.co/OJU22Vch</i> (MusicOnTheReg, TWT 1/18/12) [U] <i>The Day the LOLCats Died</i> (LaughPong, YTB 1/17/12)  [U] <i>SOPA Cabana</i> (Dan Bull, YTB 12/20/11)

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
Obsolete entertainment industry business model		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ @dantevortex No one supports SOPA, except for politicians and their corporate buddies that cling to their outdated business model. #SOPA (theatrix, TWT 12/19/11) ■ "You don't get to destroy the internet just because it doesn't fit your business model" Fight #SOPA (ArenaExperience, TWT 1/9/12) ■ If the Motion Picture Association of America is losing money, they need to change their business model (Time2GameINC, YTB 11/29/11) ■ ...large companies and corporations trying to protect that dinosaur business model (TotalBiscuit, YTB 12/17/11) ■ The instinct of the industry is always to kill innovation that disrupts their business models or threatens the way they're used to doing things (AlJazeera, YTB 12/14/11) <p>[U] Internet Fight Song (Ghosty Boy, YTB 1/16/12)</p>
Piracy is rampant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ When one-quarter of Internet traffic is infringing, something is already in need of repair (Rep. Lamar Smith, TWP 11/23/11) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Nobody is buying copyrighted works from foreign websites. They're pirating them. This won't stop that. #SOPA (armlessphelan, TWT 12/15/11) <p>[E] Just been to google search for mission impossible. Wow, several sites offering free links. I rest my case. (rupertmurdoch, TWT 1/14/12)</p> <p>[E] This year, there were 9.7 million illegal links to Paramount content. SpongeBob SquarePants has been watched 1.6 billion times since 2008. (Vids654321, YTB 11/19/11)</p>
SOPA supporters created the problem		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ But who do you think really caused all that piracy? Was it all these kids? No – they needed the tools to do it. Who distributed those tools? Guess who! CBS television – the CNET division of CBS have almost the exclusive distribution of things like a LimeWire, Kazaa, Morpheus, BitTorrent, Azureus/Vuze (Mike Mozart/ PuskaGib'en, YTB 12/21/11) ■ Hey! These SOPA supporters, most of them distributed the file sharing software and taught them how to use it! ... Another one of the key supporters of SOPA, Time Warner. The Warner corporation distributed this software through their AOL portal for years and made a bundle doing it. (TrueMusicCentral, YTB 12/23/11) ■ Book publishers are some of the biggest supporters of SOPA because there is a lot piracy of e-books going on online. Of course there is, because CNET and ZDNET distributed all the DRM removal software to strip the DRM out of those books. That's why there is so much piracy. (spoon980, YTB 1/16/12) ■ Why would one of the biggest entertainment companies, CBS/Viacom, that's leading the charge for SOPA distribute this material? To create an aura of copyright infringement so when they go in to see these lawmakers like these Senators and congressmen, they're going to say look at all the piracy, there is so much piracy going on. (Felix, YTB 1/14/12) ■ SOPA supporters created the problem they're claiming to fight. http://t.co/3Weh78F8 #SOPA (sinistergrasp, TWT 12/22/11)

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		<p>[D] Reading murchod's comments about SOPA... a bit pot calling kettle black isn't it? (Aqueel, TWT 1/17/12)</p> <p>[S] The same people that ... have put up like a hundred million dollars in lobbying costs to get this law passed so they can control the internet are the same people that distributed the files sharing software (Ohirim, YTB 12/22/11)</p>
SOPA opposition disseminating misinformation	<p>[D] [The MPAA said] business interests are resorting to stunts to punish their users or turn them into corporate pawns (MTN 1/18/12)</p> <p>[D] Wikipedia, the irony there is that, here is a Web site that says it wants to provide information and in this case is actually spreading misinformation about this bill. (Rep. Lamar Smith, FBN 1/18/12)</p>	<p>■ It is ironic that a website dedicated to providing information is spreading misinformation about" #SOPA. -- @LamarSmithTX21 (GreenDoopey, TWT 1/17/12)</p>
SOPA supporters disseminating misinformation		<p>■ #SOPA Update: Still Terrible, And Misinformation Makes It Worse" (campusprogress, TWT 1/6/12)</p> <p>■ #SOPA supporters are vastly inflating the alleged costs of music and movie piracy to the US economy: http://t.co/3FgDvHoo (evacide, TWT 1/12/12)</p> <p>■ Anyone who has any knowledge about foreign clients and how online piracy works ... knows just from a basic description of this advertisement that it is egregiously false and should not be believed by anyone with half a brain cell (RickLowell, YTB 12/2/11)</p> <p>[D] Rupert Murdoch continues to prove that reality and tact are foreign concepts to him. (DoctorHu, TWT 1/17/12)</p>
Technology enables both good and bad	<p>■ Technology makes many things possible, good and bad. (WSJ 11/28/11)</p>	<p>■ I love how the Internets can both do a great job making us aware of scary shit like #SOPA & #NDAA, yet twists people's words in other cases. (wolverinethad, TWT 12/20/11)</p>
USA is being a bully	<p>■ Introduced by US Senate, PIPA, if passed, will give U.S. corporations and the US government the right to seek affirmative legal action against any website that they see as enabling copyright infringement whether of U.S. origin or not. American government and corporations thus will be able to force U.S. internet providers to block access to websites ...to have them blacklisted and removed from the internet. SOPA and PIPA will empower companies and regulatory bodies to sue any new websites that get started, if they believe that the new websites are not doing a good job--in their opinion. (TFE 1/18/12)</p>	<p>■ The United States could force Internet providers to block any website suspected of violating copyright or intellectual property laws, but could also do the same to those pages who do not sufficiently oversee the activities of its users, and as most Internet hosting services are located in the United States, this blacklist could drastically restrict access for all of us (dankawamori xrl/translation from Spanish, YTB 11/30/11)</p> <p>■ SOPA is the new act that the American Government is trying to bring in to censor the internet. Will it happen? No. Why? Because the internet is the only thing we have that is not taken over by the government. (RogerTheMonkey, YTB 12/19/11)</p> <p>■ The Stop Online Piracy Act and Protect IP Act, respectively known as SOPA and PIPA, will give the American government the power to strangle any website that it feels is enabling copyright infringement. (Cheezburger Network CEO Ben Huh/AllisonBoyer, YTB 1/17/12)</p> <p>■ Is that the US's job to police the Internet for the entire world? (androvett, YTB 1/18/12)</p> <p>■ Much of the network is occupied by American websites. So, even though SOPA would only govern in the U.S., it would also impact our country and the world. (JuanCarlosLuján, YTB 1/18/12)</p>

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
Prognostic Frames		
Bad for business/innovation/economy/learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>Not just actors and directors are affected; piracy also has a ripple effect on thousands of businesses that are associated with the movie business</i> (MPAA, TWP 11/17/11) ■ <i>The Internet accounts for more than 3% of GDP in the largest countries, more than agriculture or energy; represents more than 20% of economic growth over the past five years; and is a net producer of new jobs, creating more than twice as many jobs as it displaces.</i> (McKinsey, WSJ 11/28/11) ■ <i>The Motion Picture Association of America cites figures saying that piracy costs the United States \$58 billion annually</i> (NYT 1/2/12) ■ <i>The harm is it ruins the business models for companies. We don't want companies in a free society to act as secret police</i> (Ed Black, chief executive of the Computer and Communications Industry Association, NYT 1/13/12) ■ <i>Our nation's leading technology employers warn that this bill presents a clear and present danger to innovation and job growth</i> (Ron Wyden, USA 12/28/11) ■ <i>...these are anti-entrepreneurship bills. They are a classic example of industry incumbents trying to use the law to stifle disruptive innovation, or at least innovation that they view as disruptive to their established business</i> (Blogger Brad Feld, DC 1/15/12) ■ <i>These bills, if passed, may curb the freedom of people to learn for free from free websites and to publish their own websites at will.</i> (TFE 1/18/12) [D] <i>The problem of rogue Web sites is real, immediate and widespread. It harms all sectors of the economy</i> (Lamar Smith, TWP 11/17/11) [E] <i>If they [SOPA/PIPA] had existed, Steve Huffman and I could have never started reddit</i> (reddit co-founder Alexis Ohanian, CNN 1/18/12) [E] <i>So, today, I was on YouTube and typed in the phrase "Barbie Girl" as is I'm a Barbie Girl {reference to Aqua song, which could be pirated}</i> (Erin Burnett, CNN 1/17/12) [C] <i>Stealing the American Dream</i> (Coalition against Counterfeiting and Piracy's website –fightonlinetheft.com, WSJ 1/18/12) [V] <i>Photograph of workers whose jobs could be affected with caption, Critics say a bill in Congress targeting Web piracy could be interpreted to shut down sites like YouTube</i> (CNN 11/18/11) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>#SOPA is absolutely ridiculous, we cant stifle innovation in hopes to save one industry. Cutting out the middleman only sucks for one party.</i> (brettmaurer, TWT 12/23/11) ■ <i>@LamarSmithTX21 #SOPA will kill the internet. It's bad for business! Please vote against it!</i> (technum, TWT 11/25/11) ■ <i>#SOPA may help improve pirating monitoring but it will also limit open source development which is the software that paves the futures path</i> (westybsa, TWT 1/13/12) ■ <i>SOPA and PIPA would be job killers because they would create a new era of uncertainty for American businesses</i> (RipperX, YTB 1/18/12) ■ <i>S.O.P.A.... will cost tax payers \$47 million</i> (Anonymous, YTB 12/1/11) ■ <i>The digital marketplace of ideas that welcomes every blog and tweet is the same one that inspires the next generation of innovators to fuel our economies and when business considers investing in our country, a poor record on internet freedom and they know their website could be shut down suddenly, their transactions monitored, their staff harassed, they'll look for opportunities elsewhere. Don't let American Innovation go elsewhere. It would be a drain on the American economy</i> (VP Joe Biden/KongCinema, YTB 1/18/12) ■ <i>There are a lot more jobs produced by Silicon Valley, in the IT Industry than Hollywood</i> (RussiaToday, YTB 1/17/12) ■ <i>There's a study that was provided that says 75% of investors –75% of investors –would spend less and invest less in the United States if a bill like this was passed. How is this good for the American economy?</i> (Cheezburger CEO, Ben Huh/PBS, YTB 1/18/12) ■ <i>We are facing a serious threat to the US economy</i> (NBC Universal legal counsel, Rick Cotton, YTB 1/3/12) ■ <i>What is at stake here is the jobs of millions of Americans employed in two dozen high-growth, high-innovation sectors of the U.S. economy</i> (NBC Universal legal counsel, Rick Cotton/PBS, YTB 1/18/12) [M] <i>SOPA is the digital equivalent to leaving the stores doors unlocked and letting people loot product</i> (Vids654321, YTB 11/19/11) [E] <i>...we think it'll curb first amendment rights on the Internet used for US as well as for foreign sites as well as prohibit the growth of American jobs</i> (Cheezburger CEO Ben Huh/PBS NewsHour, YTB 1/17/12) [E] <i>Does that mean they can't hire x amount of people they would have been able to hire? It negatively affects the company and it negatively affects me.</i> (Spike TV Contract Manager Matt Dino/Vids654321, YTB 11/19/11) [U] <i>Firewall</i> (Leah Kauffman, YTB 1/16/12) [U] <i>Internet Fight Song</i> (Ghosty Boy, YTB 1/16/12)

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
Bad for art/fun/gaming/pornography	<p>[E] <i>I want artists to thrive. The Internet allows artists to find their audiences. When Justin Bieber started just singing his favorite songs on YouTube, he got discovered thanks to the Internet and the odd thing is, under this law – SOPA – the behavior of Justin Bieber singing his favorite songs, without authorization, over the Internet could make him a felon – in jail for three years.</i> (Harvard Professor of Internet Law Jonathan Zittrain, CC 12/1/11)</p> <p>[E] <i>Ever upload a YouTube video with a song playing in the background or a video of your kid's birthday party where you sing "Happy Birthday"? That there ... is a copyright violation.</i> (Chris Hayes, MSNBC 1/15/12)</p> <p>[U] <i>Happy Birthday</i> (Chris Hayes, MSNBC 1/15/12)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>Is anyone else downloading massive quantities of porn just in case #SOPA passes?</i> (Franky_1189, TWT 11/17/11) ■ <i>SOPA... will completely destroy the gaming community</i> (MCSPORTZHAWK, YTB 12/22/11) [M] <i>Internet censorship is like when you really want to download some funny porn, but you can't because your parents are here and all you can think of is I really wish my parents would go home so I can sit around in my underwear and watch some funny porn. That is what SOPA would be like, except it would be like a never-ending visit from your parents for the rest of your life.</i> (Jenny Lawson, YTB 1/10/12) [E] <i>What angers me about #SOPA and #Hollywood that is backing this bill, this act would kill artist careers and dreams #amwriting</i> (jessenovels, TWT 11/18/11) [E] <i>Steven Colbert on a new bill that would censor the web and put @JustinBieber in jail: #SOPA #USACensored #freebieber</i> http://t.co/gxOGEkg4 (Wildey2, TWT 12/7/11) [D] <i>The Internet is the only way poor people can have fun and SOPA would take it away</i> (Richard Henrikes, YTB 12/28/11) [V] <i>This is porn if you don't oppose #SOPA</i> bit.ly/xDjVso (BeerBrewin, TWT 1/16/12)Ⓢ [V] <i>I made an animated GIF about #SOPA</i> http://t.co/jlj5k9Up (Oatmeal, TWT 1/18/12)Ⓢ [U] <i>OMG: The Internet's Down</i> (arthtorick, YTB 1/18/12)
Bad for international relations		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>SOPA's ugly message to the world about America and internet Innovation -</i> http://t.co/BlkwUhVE #SOPA #FuckSOPA #Censorship #FuckCensorship (_D3m0cR4CY, TWT 11/18/11) ■ <i>@PiratePartyUK The US #SOPA action will only serve to isolate US as rest of world will find ways 2 protect itself from US intent to dominate</i> (jrodwyer, TWT 11/17/2011) ■ <i>@WFMU You Can't Condemn The Slave For The Slaver Behavior. I'm In The UK. I Can't Boycott All Things American. #SOPA</i> (dsfadsfgafg, TWT 1/14/12) ■ <i>SOPA ... erodes other nations trust in us because this is the first time we have openly threatened to utilize one of the levers we never should've had been allowed to keep which is control of all the domain servers on the Internet and what this is going to mean is that we're going to lose control of that</i> (KimberlyBrink-Castleberry, YTB 1/16/12) ■ <i>When the one nation that is known for its freedom and rights start to abuse its own people, this is when you must fight back, because others are soon to follow.</i> (Anonymous, YTB 11/19/11) [U] <i>Internet Fight Song</i> (Ghosty Boy, YTB 1/16/12)
Break the Internet	<p>[M] <i>Butchering the Internet ... is not a way forward for America</i> (Issa, NYT 12/15/11)</p> <p>[M] <i>A congressional vote on an anti-piracy bill that Internet heavyweights like Google say would be an online Armageddon has been delayed until 2012</i> (CNN 12/22/11)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>#SOPA has the potential to completely break the internet as forum for free exchange of ideas and content.</i> (DrewnoD, TWT 11/26/2011) ■ <i>Stop Online Piracy Act #SOPA, the US bill that could "break the Internet" -</i> http://t.co/ZMr3uKBy (rohanjay, TWT 11/27/11) ■ <i>... will meddle with the inner workings of the Internet.</i> (WoodysGamertag, YTB 1/18/12)

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>If certain bills that are being debated in the United States right now become laws, we could see some of our favorite sites disappear, forever.</i> (AllisonBoyer, YTB 1/17/12) ■ <i>SOPA and PIPA WILL KILL THE INTERNET</i> (Whiteboy7thst2, YTB 1/18/12) ■ <i>...this seems like a national issue, but it is not. These industries will not be content with breaking our Internet. If they break it, they will break it for everybody.</i> (Clay Shirky/FBWalshyFTW, YTB 1/18/12) <p>[V] @MotherFucker!, YTB 1/5/12)</p>
Diminish Internet freedom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>Internet freedom is better protected through contract ... than by overbroad legislation</i> (WSJ 11/28/11) ■ <i>But the fact remains that over the past ten years, as everything else in American life seems to push toward more concentrated power in fewer hands, the Internet has been the one development mitigating against that</i> (Chris Hayes, MSNBC 1/18/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>SOPA ...will make you want to move outside of the states because the US would not have free internets</i> (AdrianIsen, YTB 12/22/11) ■ <i>@a_digger Congress sets democrcy back every tim they sell a hunk of our freedom. I thought they were suposed to protect us from tyranny #SOPA</i> (LifeLiberty3, TWT 12/27/11) <p>[C] <i>End piracy, not liberty</i> (Lisapbs, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[S] <i>We want to thank all the co-sponsors of #SOPA. We were beginning to think we were the only ones who hated freedom. #TSA</i> (TSAgov, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[S] <i>If you support #SOPA, go to North Korea. They love not having any liberty... #sarcasm</i> (JoshuaSAkins, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[U] <i>SOPA Cabana</i> (Dan Bull, YTB 12/20/11)</p> <p>[U] <i>Taps playing during slides noting that SOPA would criminalize fair use</i> (Mysterio2276, YTB 12/30/11)</p>
Enact/enable repressive regimes/silence free speech	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>The United States Government must be prepared for other governments to follow suit, in service to whatever social policies they believe are important whether restricting hate speech, insults to public officials, or political dissent</i> (HM 11/23/11) <p>[E] <i>In China 'copyright' is one of many excuses to crack down on political movements. If a new law like SOPA is introduced in the U.S., the Chinese government and official media will use it to support their version of 'anti-piracy'.</i> (Chinese blogger Isaac Mao, CNN 12/14/11)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>Wikipedia founder, Jimmy Wales, criticized the two bills on Tuesday, saying they "endanger free speech both in the United States and abroad, and set a frightening precedent of Internet censorship for the world"</i> (DW 1/17/12) <p>[M] <i>Congress...is considering misguided legislation that would strengthen China's Great Firewall and even bring major features of it to America</i> (Rebecca MacKinnon, NYT 11/16/11)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>#SOPA is a repressive, conservative move, to stop freedom of speech, jobs, commerce, small business- then blame Obama for the down turn.</i> (Politicolnews, TWT 12/24/11) <p>[M] <i>Resist. Dissent. #NDAA, #SOPA, and #EEA create a totalitarian regime similar to 1930s Nazi Germany. Not exaggerating</i> (d_seaman, TWT 1/11/12)</p> <p>[M] <i>its time.. Nazi America is here- The Totalitarian regimes in place- http://t.co/iCMkJcMr PLEASE PLEASE RT #NDAA #SOPA #factswithoutwikipedia</i> (AmericanHawkTPJ, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] <i>Don't put up a firewall. What is this China?</i> (Leah Kauffman, YTB 1/16/12)</p> <p>[D] <i>Even if you trust the US government not to abuse their power, what about countries that follow in our path and pass similar laws? Unscrupulous governments will have powerful tools to hinder free expression.</i> (WoodysGamertag 1/18/12)</p> <p>[V] <i>Cartoon images of bombs, bad guys, scared faces</i> (THAT KID THAT MAKES THE VIDEOS, YTB 12/18/11)</p> <p>[S] <i>China has a censorship bill right? Look how skinny they all are. Instead of tweeting they're out exercising. Yay #SOPA!</i> (jessicuhlove, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[S] <i>#SOPA protects INDIVIDUALS in much the SAME WAY that the DALEKS protect the UNIVERSE. OBEY or you will be EXTERMINATED!</i> (DalekThay, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[U] <i>Firewall</i> (Leah Kauffman, YTB 1/16/12)</p> <p>[U] <i>SOPA Cabana</i> (Dan Bull, YTB 12/20/11)</p> <p>[U] <i>Internet Fight Song</i> (Ghosty Boy, YTB 1/16/12)</p>

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
Good for entertainment industry/jobs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ "Fundamentally, this is about jobs," said Michael O'Leary, who represented the Motion Picture Association of America at the hearing. He argued that not just actors and directors are affected; piracy also has a ripple effect on thousands of businesses that are associated with the movie business. (TWP 11/17/11) ■ [Recouping revenue from foreign pirates] could be funding American jobs. (IT & Innovation Foundation Senior Analyst Daniel Castro, PBS 1/17/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Misinformation can't replace honest debate and derail critically important fight to protect American jobs #sopa #pipa http://t.co/Rqx3Z5ke (MPAA, TWT 1/14/12)
Improve quality of media content online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ [The Chamber of Commerce] argued that the proposals moving through the House and Senate would improve the quality of media content online and thus benefit Web firms. (TWP 11/16/11) 	
Increase litigation/government overhead for enforcement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Given that the enforcement of the act would fall to the judicial system, PIPA would open the floodgates of litigation just as wide as would SOPA (TWP 1/3/12) [E] Trevor Eckhart, a security researcher who wrote a critical blog post last month about a little-known software program called Carrier IQ... Rather than address Eckhart's claims, Carrier IQ responded with legal threats, accusing him of copyright violation because his analysis included copies of its manuals, even though the manuals were publicly available on the company's own website. (CNN 12/14/11) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Problem with #SOPA style law: promotes law suits instead of constructive thinking. Lawyers have enough to do already http://t.co/7DyGR6JW (frans_vd_putte, TWT 1/10/12) [U] One of the signature songs from [Avenue Q] is The Internet is for Porn. I'd like to submit the lyrics ... for the record... A high percentage of piracy is porn. And when we are talking about this bill in its current form, it is truly a pornographer's wet dream. This bill, in its current form would unleash the Attorney General's office to defend pornographers (Jared Polis/ConsiSteven's channel, YTB 12/15/11)
Legislators would be guilty of piracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> [E] The whole justification for this very controversial bill sponsored by Senator Blunt is to crack down on the theft of other people's content online. Theft like the kind Senator Blunt engaged in himself, very publicly on his own Twitter page. (Rachel Maddow, MSNBC 1/18/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> [D] RT @AnonNep: 'The Author Of #SOPA Is A Copyright Violator' from http://t.co/lK59DWH4 - http://t.co/PO9Yt50Z #LamarSmith (VICE, TWT 1/12/12) [U] Stop the SOPA Song (Stonebreakers10, YTB 11/25/2011)🔊
Loss of popular online resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Silicon Valley companies a... fear the proposals would ... empower law enforcement to shut down their operations if a copyrighted movie or song appeared on their sites without their authorization. (TWP 11/16/11) ■ Congress is looking to give itself dramatically expanded powers to shut down and basically black list websites that they think might not be taking sufficient action to prevent piracy (FNN 11/28/11) [M] These bills are the equivalent of using napalm to weed your garden. While you need to control your weeds, you shouldn't have to burn down your neighborhood to do it. (Bailey Dabney, CDP 1/18/12) [E] Under SOPA, they say, a fledgling YouTube could have been shut down because of [content posted without the intent of its creators] (CNN 11/18/11) [S] With Wikipedia down, let's revert to the true interactive encyclopedia: Encarta! For all your knowledge needs (as long as they're pre-1998) (RN 1/18/12) [U] "The day the LOLcats died" is a mournful ditty about what could happen if SOPA and PIPA ... are enacted in the United States (TIE 1/18/12)🔊 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Need another reason to protest #SOPA? It could kill the Open Education Resource movement (GOOD, TWT 12/16/11) ■ Imagine Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Pinterest, Flickr, Pandora, your favorite blogs and podcasts, all going black one day... (AllisonBoyer, TWT 1/17/12) ■ If this bill passes, this would mean the very end of the Internet as we know it (YesMan, TWT 1/18/12) ■ One of the first things to get deleted would be Facebook and Twitter and that type of thing (SuprimAbsol, TWT 1/18/12) ■ SOPA and PIPA, if passed, could mean the end of LPs (videos of people gaming) (SuperMCGamer, YTB 1/18/12) [M] That would be like shutting down the gun store for a murder from a gun that was bought at that gun store (HoniBee, YTB 1/17/12) [E] US courts already enforcing #SOPA -style shutdowns http://t.co/F8Qdcmjf (RussiaToday, TWT 12/19/11) [E] Reddit manager warns site will shut down if #SOPA passes (YourAnonNews, TWT 12/20/11) [E] That awkward moment when everyone realizes that if #SOPA & #PIPA pass, there will be no more Harry Potter Twitter accounts (SoVeryAwkward, TWT 1/18/12) [C] Stop Internet #Censorship-Sign the @Avaaz petition

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
		<p>urging Congress to reject #SOPA #PIPA bills #FactswithoutWikipedia http://t.co/GfDYdc2s (AndrewLynn3, TWT 1/18/2012)</p> <p>[D] If #SOPA passes, there'll be NO YouTube, Twitter, Google, Wikipedia, Facebook & Tumblr, #SOPASTrike today and End Piracy, Not Liberty! (DavidShares, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[V] Darkened room (AntVenom, YTB 1/17/12)</p> <p>[V] Wearing black (GenInsanityShow's channel, YTB 1/17/12)</p> <p>[S] RT @mathewi: I think in addition to going dark to protest SOPA, Wikipedia should have mailed all its users old Encarta CDs (JaredBKeller, TWT 1/17/12)</p> <p>[U] "The Day the LOLcats Died" - a #PIPA and #SOPA protest song: https://eff.org/r.1P4 (EFF, TWT 1/17/12)</p> <p>[U] Firewall (Leah Kauffman, YTB 1/16/12)</p> <p>[U] Stop the SOPA Song (Stonebreakers10, YTB 11/25/2011)⑥</p> <p>[U] The Day the LOLcats Died (LaughPong, YTB 1/17/12)④</p>
Make third-party intermediaries enforcers of copyright	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compliance with the Stop Online Piracy Act would require huge overhead spending by Internet companies for staff and technologies dedicated to monitoring users and censoring any infringing material from being posted or transmitted (Rebecca MacKinnon, NYT 11/16/11) [M] ...you can't find the pirate so you go after the guy that paved road? (FBN 11/17/11) [E] Boing Boing: making one link would require checking millions ... of pages, just to be sure that we weren't ... impinging on the ability of five Hollywood studios ... to maximize their profits (CNN 1/16/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Internet intermediaries as content police: Are we seeing the beginnings of large-scale privatised enforcement? http://t.co/tpQJECE2 #SOPA (APC_News, TWT 12/9/11) [SOPA] requires these intermediaries to cut off the infringing site (TheAlyonaShow YTB 11/23/11)
Prevent increasing cost of products for Americans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> [Recouping revenue from foreign pirates] could be lowering the average cost of these products for Americans. (IT & Innovation Foundation Senior Analyst Daniel Castro, PBS 1/17/12) 	
Protect public health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The illegal theft of American intellectual property and the counterfeiting of goods like medicine, automotive parts and even baby food pose a serious threat to the health of American consumers. (Lamar Smith, NYT 1/10/12) 	
Threaten cyber-security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The White House sided with irate Internet companies and users over the weekend, saying the proposal could hurt innocent companies and undermine cybersecurity (WSJ 1/17/12) The Obama administration ... criticized mandated DNS-filtering on cybersecurity grounds (CNN 1/18/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Article quotes Stewart Baker, former Dept of Homeland Security policy dir, said #SOPA "would still do great damage to internet security" (JustanITGeek, TWT 1/10/12) [U] Firewall (Leah Kauffman, YTB 1/16/12)
Threaten supporting companies' privacy (Anonymous)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anonymous ... dropped a trove of documents [that] included information about media executives and government figures [supporting SOPA]. Anonymous ... has called its effort "Operation Hiroshima" (NYT 1/14/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Global hacktivist group Anonymous is targeting media executives to protest #SOPA. It's called "Operation Hiroshima." http://t.co/56v6UTGw (amychozick, TWT 1/13/12) AonOps, your purpose is to amass information on corrupt ?, politicians, and governments purpose is to reveal the lies and sins of the corrupt for all to see... free speech is non-negotiable (LilKing420s, YTB 1/3/12)

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
Motivational Frames		
Boycott supporters	<p>[E] <i>The effort had the support of some influential members of the Internet community. Cheezburger CEO Ben Huh, who threatened to pull 1,000 websites to another provider, told GoDaddy in a tweet, "We love you guys, but #SOPA-is-cancer to the Free Web." (SPP 12/22/11)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>STOP #SOPA - Show OLD MEDIA who's boss: BOYCOTT HOLLYWOOD, BOYCOTT MUSIC. Hit those old media bastards where it hurts: RIGHT IN THE WALLET (KyanWan, TWT 11/18/11)</i> ■ <i>RT @YourAnonNews: Did you know http://t.co/hLnNi7y3 supports #SOPA?? -- http://t.co/1s4zLIHn BOYCOTT THEM & TRANSFER YOUR DOMAINS NOW! (wapi40, TWT 12/22/11)</i> ■ <i>RT @robert_e_lee: #SOPA supporters listed on http://t.co/Re23qHxA: http://t.co/NOThBmqJ &lt; If you see your company's name listed, time to speak up internally (Anonymous_SA, TWT 12/22/11)</i> ■ <i>Boycotting #ESA publisher's supporting #SOPA almost come down to buy nothing but #Indie Games. I could live with that. (BaronVonChateau, TWT 1/5/12)</i> ■ <i>RT @AnonyOps: An easy way to financially strike back at #SOPA supporters. An Android app that will tell you before you buy something http://t.co/WmLuYcf7 (AnonymousEurope, TWT 1/8/12)</i> ■ <i>Android barcode scanner app tells you if product is made by #SOPA-supporting company http://t.co/EdjPyVct #boycott (MikalJakubal, TWT 1/17/12)</i> ■ <i>The ESA is supporting SOPA. E3 - gaming's biggest event is actually run by the ESA. And, in fact, it is their biggest source of revenue. So to attend the E3 is to financially support the ESA, which supports SOPA. If they won't withdraw support from SOPA, let's withdraw support from them! (TheJelpe, YTB 1/18/12)</i> [E] <i>We will move our 1,000 domains off @godaddy unless you drop support of SOPA. We love you guys, but #SOPA-is-cancer to the Free Web. (benhuh, TWT 12/22/11)</i> [C] <i>RT @ReverseRobocall: want to really get your voice heard on #SOPA? Robocall all 88 supporters here ! http://t.co/OxtIxApj #BoycottGoDaddy (PSAnonymous13, TWT 12/23/11)</i> [C] <i>3 strikes you're out, GoDaddy: Sexist ads, CEO murders elephants, & supports freedom crushing #SOPA bill. #boycottGoDaddy (Rev_Sarahpdx, TWT 12/25/11)</i>
Call legislators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>What will make a difference is for ordinary people to pick up the phone and send an e-mail or a letter to their representatives about this (Wikipedia co-founder Jimmy Wales, NYT 1/17/12)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>Amazing: @Tumblr is generating 3.6 calls per second to Congress opposing #SOPA! Let's keep helping them out: http://t.co/qV8zZWu1 (EFF, TWT 11/17/11)</i> ■ <i>#Retweet to Tell @SenatorReid @NancyPelosi @SpeakerBoehner @BarackObama That You Oppose The #SOPA Act. #InternetFreedom #OWS #p2 #tcot (TheNewDeal, TWT 11/17/11)</i> ■ <i>RT @mollywood: Just your daily reminder to call your reps and ask them to stop Protect IP and #SOPA. This helps you find them: http://t.co/V3PhFH7T (MiguelRosadoJr, TWT 11/17/11)</i> ■ <i>RT @publicknowledge: House markup on #SOPA is tomorrow! Sign up to call your Rep now: http://t.co/RSsa93gG (there's a lot at stake: http://t.co/6Vx6BDAP) (carlfranzén, TWT 12/14/11)</i> ■ <i>18 States CAN recall their Senators and</i>

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
		<p>Congressmen. Get the facts! http://t.co/mnuRFNpZ #OWS #SOPA #NDAA (ethiopianmused, TWT 12/26/11)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>The most effective action you can take is to call your representatives and tell them to oppose SOPA and PIPA, and any similar legislation.</i> (rarezatv, YTB 1/18/12) ■ <i>If you're an American citizen, call your representative, call your senator... Remind them that you vote. And you can ask not to be treated like a thief. And you could suggest that you prefer that the Internet not be broken. And if you're not an American citizen, you can contact American citizens that you know and encourage them to do the same.</i> (Clay Shirky/ FBWalshyFTW, YTB 1/18/12) <p>[C] <i>I Kindly Ask All My Followers to Help Me Fight the Internet Killing #SOPA Act. Please Call, Write, & Tweet Congress. Please! #OWS #StopSOPA</i> (TheNewDeal, TWT 11/28/11)</p> <p>[C] <i>Just petitioned the State Department to stop the internet censorship bill. You should too!</i> http://t.co/2ookwB1j #usacensored #SOPA (Lir1c, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[U] <i>The Day the LOLCats Died</i> (LaughPong, YTB 1/17/12)📺</p>
Demand freedom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>Freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed</i> (NP 1/18/12) ■ <i>Our freedom online is in peril and we must protect it with all our might</i> (CAM 1/17/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>#NDAA and #SOPA hours from being passed by Obama; Freedom needs u Call @whitehouse comment line at 202-456-1111 #ows #tcot #p2 #ola #oo #osf</i> (dr1ce, TWT 12/15/11) ■ <i>FIGHT FOR FREEDOM!</i> (jenonymouswerlegion, YTB 1/18/12) <i>Fight! Fight! Fight! Keep the Web open and free!</i> (Funk Vigilante, YTB 1/16/12) ■ <i>If you think your #freedom isn't at risk then let the bill pass. You will miss it when it's gone. #SOPA #USA #censorship</i> (AnonCentral, TWT 12/22/11) ■ <i>We call upon all freedom loving Internauts to join us. We further call upon our legislators, bureaucrats and the media & telecommunications industries to immediately begin implementing our demands. The future of free speech is bright, and clear - either stand with us or get out of the way</i> (Anonymous YTB 11/19/11) <i>VIDEO about #SOPA - Join Us & Fight for #Internet #Freedom;</i> http://t.co/9yJKce7M (anonops, TWT 1/13/12) <p>[C] <i>End piracy, not liberty</i> (DavidShares, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] <i>The #SOPA bill is like Edelstein. The supporters are the Black Wings, the Internet is Edelstein, and the protesters are the Resistance.</i> (MishieruChan, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[U] <i>Stop the SOPA Song</i> (Stonebreakers10, YTB 11/25/2011)📺</p>
Don't break the Internet	<p>[C] <i>First came the catchy slogan: "Don't Break the Internet."</i> (TWP 11/23/11)</p> <p>[C] <i>Pelosi even tweeted, "need to find a better solution than SOPA. Don't break the Internet."</i> (CNN 1/12/12)</p> <p>[V] <i>Photograph of protester carrying Don't Meddle When you Don't Understand sign</i> (CSM 1/18/12)</p> <p>[V] <i>Photograph of protester carrying Don't Break the Internet sign</i> (CNN 1/18/12)</p>	<p>[C] <i>#DontBreakTheInternet - Think #SOPA is innocuous? Nope, It's insidious! You need to Watch this video!</i> http://t.co/yIEE4pE5 #stopSOPA (RobertRaves, TWT 12/22/11)</p> <p>[U] <i>INTERNET FIGHT SONG! (Anti-#SOPA #PIPA song by Funk Vigilante):</i> http://t.co/mKi1Ojcq via @youtube (nikkihype_, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[U] <i>Internet Fight Song</i> (Ghosty Boy, YTB 1/16/12)</p>

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
Don't let the Internet vanish		<p>[M] @Nash076 #SOPA is like that one vampire from blade, after a while the damn thing is gonna die, we just have to kill it enough times (King_Vile, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[M] #SOPA is like Ganon or "The Great Evil" in Legend of Zelda; It can never be destroyed, only driven back; sealed away...for a time. (erinscorley, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[U] The Day the LOLCats Died (LaughPong, YTB 1/17/12)👤</p> <p>[U] SOPA Cabana (Dan Bull, YTB 12/20/11)</p>
Don't let the law die out	<p>[M] If you hear about a burglary in your neighborhood, your reaction is not – let's shut down the burglary unit of the police department. You want the burglary unit to get a little bit better. (NBC Universal legal counsel, Rick Cotton, MSNBC 1/15/12)</p>	
Examine SOPA supporters' motives	<p>[D] We need to examine the real motives of the "big Internet guys," like Google, that ... made huge profits by directing consumers to illegal foreign Web sites, so its opposition is self-serving" (Lamar Smith, NYT 1/10/12)</p>	
Maintain parity between online and offline theft policing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ plagiarism on the Internet must be treated the same as plagiarism by a television program (TW 12/15/11) ■ These illicit enterprises are not tolerated in the brick and mortar marketplace, so why would we allow them to flourish unchecked online? (Steve Tepp, CNN 1/6/12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ #SOPA is like combatting plagiarism by breaking any printing-press that *might* have been involved. #SOPASTRIKE (gilluminate, TWT 1/18/12)
Protect Americans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ We need to protect American consumers and businesses. The illegal theft of American intellectual property and the counterfeiting of goods like medicine, automotive parts and even baby food pose a serious threat to the health of American consumers (Lamar Smith, NYT 1/10/12) ■ If financial services companies have any reservations about being appointed the front-line enforcers for copyright protections under proposed anti-piracy legislation, now would be their time to strike. (AB 1/18/12) ■ The bill ... protects American consumer from dangerous counterfeit products" (Rep. Lamar Smith, CNN 11/18/11) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ RT @creativeamerica: Protect American artists support #sopa and #pipa at #ces http://t.co/ZB9POXN1 (txba484, TWT 1/10/12)
Re-post and share information		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ RT @Daren140: Stop Internet #Censorship! Sign the global petition @Avaaz urging the US Congress to reject the #Blacklist Bill #SOPA http://t.co/d4N4L7OI (appleblossombea, TWT 11/17/2011) ■ I haven't been too vocal except retweeting others, but I am a content creator and I am against #SOPA. RT and/or speak up! (inversephase, TWT 12/23/11) ■ I want you guys to download this and reupload it all over the internet. Change it some - put some leaders in front of it; shorten it, cut it, whatever you have to do because they're going to do everything they can to take down this information because that's what they do and that's what they want SOPA for, okay? So, you do your best, even if you email this to all your Senators, Congressmen (Mike Mozart/ PuskaGib'en, YTB 12/21/11) <p>[U] Internet Fight Song (Ghosty Boy, YTB 1/16/12)</p>
SOPA strike		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Support #SOPAblockout We need a nation wide internet strike! #SOPA (spiritualution, TWT 1/12/12) ■ @Oatmeal you should join the #SOPA strike on Jan 18 http://t.co/XDU3JDT2 (candyman, TWT 1/14/12) ■ Go here for more #SOPA strike info: http://t.co/LPbiFfck (Evi_Notch, TWT 1/14/12)

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>I hope Google takes part in the blackout too #SOPA #PIPA</i> (deanybaby94, TWT 1/18/12) ■ <i>Web Goes On Strike: Jan 18th! All-out blackout 2 stop #SOPA #PIPA. Petition @twitter and other sites to join us. http://t.co/LSkK9zui</i> (brunogalvaogato, TWT 1/18/12) [C] <i>Tomorrow is the largest internet protest EVER against web censorship bills #SOPA & #PIPA http://t.co/d7y3mFyP #SOPASTRIKE We're in. Are you?</i> (standing_cloud, TWT 1/18/12) [C] <i>The largest internet protest in history is happening tomorrow to stop #SOPA and #PIPA. Will you join us? http://t.co/WEw3GW5h #SOPASTRIKE</i> (willabywallaby, TWT 1/18/12) [C] <i>Protest Internet censorship! Join Gov. @BuddyRoemer and his supporters tomorrow as we 'go dark' - no tweets! #SOPA #PIPA #J18 #SOPABlackout</i> (fightingphd, TWT 1/18/12) [C] <i>As congress resumes discussing #SOPA and #PIPA show your opposition with #blackoutsopa http://t.co/wRjt7Um7</i> (SMSuurmeijer, TWT 1/10/12) [C] <i>Take action against #SOPA and #PIPA - Support the #Wikipediablackout on Jan 18 http://t.co/YlpPBGD4</i> (vareladavid, TWT 1/18/12) [V] ⑨ [U] <i>Anti-SOPA/PIPA Protest Songs http://t.co/v44b6VtK via @Techdirt #SOPA</i> (donahuematt, TWT 1/18/12)⑩ [U] <i>Don't Let 'em Censor the Internet</i> (Okwerdz, YTB 1/16/2012)⑩
Stop the law that will censor the Internet	[M] <i>I want to be sure this legislation doesn't come back as a zombie bill shuffling through the halls of Congress</i> (Cybersecurity expert Stewart Baker, CSM 1/18/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>FIRE FIRE FIRE FIRE stop the law #SOPA</i> (luqee10, TWT 1/18/2012) [S] <i>We didn't stop the law that allows them to detain or execute us without reason, & now people are bitching about #SOPA?</i> (Earthnik, TWT 1/13/2012) [V] <i>Stop sign</i> (AngryJoeShow, YTB 12/19/11) [V] ① [V] <i>SOPA with "Anti" symbol over it</i> (CaptainSparklez, YTB 1/18/12) [U] <i>Firewall</i> (Leah Kauffman, YTB 1/16/12) [U] <i>Stop the SOPA Song</i> (Stonebreakers10, YTB 11/25/2011)⑩
Unite against SOPA	■ <i>We must work together for an effective solution</i> (DV 11/23/11)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>Google, Bing, others should work together to shut down search engines for a day during the work week in protest over #SOPA</i> (AnonyOps, TWT 12/18/11) ■ <i>RT @Zlatxlat: Calling on all Tea Party and OWS supporters to set aside differences and unite against the #NDAA and #SOPA</i> (anonymoustx2, TWT 12/15/11) [C] <i>#SOPA has to stop! @Facebook @Amazon @Google as a daily user, I will support a #blackout to #killSOPA #J23</i> (carolyndrose, TWT 1/115/12) [C] <i>#OpBlackout baby can't wait. Finally the world gets to see a small part of what #SOPA WILL do if passed. #FUCKSOPA JOIN THE REBELLION! (v_2_, TWT 1/18/12)</i> [C] <i>RT @VendettaNews: In solidarity with the rest of the world going #Blackout This account will not tweet for at least 24hrs #noSOPA #SOPA #Censorship #noPIPA</i> (JustinCredible, TWT 1/18/12)

Frame	Illustrations from Traditional Media Packages	Illustrations from Social Media Packages
		<p>[U] <i>The Internet is on strike! Song of the day:</i> http://t.co/KNbIUlPK #SOPA #PIPA (F3sch1, TWT 1/18/12)</p> <p>[U] <i>We're Not Going to Take it Anymore</i> (androvett, YTB 1/18/12)</p>

Illustrations of Images Posted on Twitter

1. **Shawn Collins** @affiliatetip · 17 Nov 2011
 RT @hillstaffer: Protect internet freedom not corporate interests #SOPA (stop online...)

2. Censored profile pictures on Twitter:

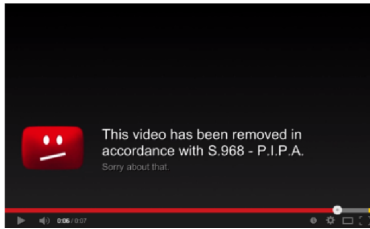
3. Links to this image:

4. Displays/links to this GIF:

5. Blackout badges used on Twitter:

Illustrations of Images Posted on YouTube

3



(AthenaWins, YTB 1/18/2012)



(VerbalProcessing, YTB 1/18/2012)



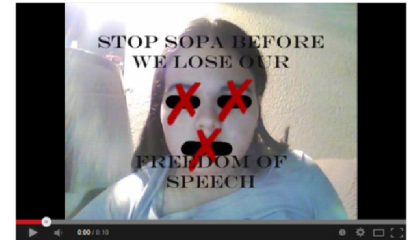
(pacman5698, YTB 12/14/2011)



(Tmsndfxq9wq, YTB 1/18/2012)



(JeremyJohns, YTB 1/18/2012)



(yessikg, YTB 1/18/2012)

1



(LolostVideos, YTB 1/18/2012)



(MotherFucker!, YTB 1/5/12)

Illustrations of Song Lyrics Performed on YouTube/Linked to from] Twitter/Referenced in Newspapers

4

The Day the LOLCats Died

A long, long time ago
On the world's largest network of
interconnected computers,
Those lolcats used to make me laugh.
And I knew I could make a joke
And not be sued by nasty folk
On the RIAA's behalf
Then along came SOPA/PIPA
The internet's very own grim reaper
users could not edit
Ars Technica and Reddit

...
Can you write a decent law
Do you care 'bout copyright at all?
Or just winning back your seat
Content will begin to ebb
You'll watch the slow death of the
web
You'll be left with nothing more to
tweet
...

Why, why are laws a thing you can
buy?
They got paid off, should be laid off,
re-election denied
Our web means more than lawyers,
lobbies, and lies
So speak up before the internet dies
Speak up before the internet dies

(LaughPong, YTB 1/17/2012)

8	<p style="text-align: center;">Stop the SOPA! Song</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p><i>I'll scream my views with CAPSLOCKFONT against this bill that you must taunt. Poke the book in our face. Get the hell out of MySpace. That's WWW - that's What We Want.</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p><i>I don't digg your havoc tweeting, endless yelps from your iCloud. I'd subscribe to watch you tumble, crash through to face NEWGROUNDS. Try to shut down my internet - you won't have a Flickr of hope. If I go to jail, I'm taking you with me. That's when you'll drop the SOPA, the SOPA, the SOPA.</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p><i>You're the one that's gonna PayPal. Right click on our online morale. Soon you'll be in too deep. That's when you'll reddit and weep. Justin Bieber ain't made no wrong foul. ...</i></p> </div> </div> <p style="text-align: center;">(Stonebreakers10, YTB 11/25/2011)</p>
10	<p style="text-align: center;">Don't Let 'em Censor the Internet</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p><i>... now here's what u can do to stop this if you wanna continue to watch porn then make a visit to americancensorship.org there's a list i suggest u do all of them first is a pre-filled, email u gotta send set up a meeting with your congressmen and talk to him or sign the petition, if this is, too hard to comprehend and post this everywhere, show it to ya mom before everything that we viewin' on, our computers gone...</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p><i>don't let 'em censor the internet don't let 'em censor the internet 'cuz if we let 'em censor the internet they'll take our freedom till there isn't an amendment left don't let 'em censor the internet don't let 'em censor the internet 'cuz if we let 'em censor the internet they'll take our freedom till there isn't an amendment left.</i></p> </div> </div> <p style="text-align: center;">(Okwerdz, YTB 1/16/2012)</p>

Appendix H

Adjusting for Message Length in Content Restriction Metrics

Our signature restriction metric assessed the average proportion of signatures used in messages across media. The likelihood of a particular signature type appearing in the message increases linearly with message size. The overall proportion of signature types used similarly increases, justifying our word count adjustment. In contrast, our frame comprehensiveness and bias metrics are joint probability metrics—joint probabilities of the occurrence of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames for comprehensiveness and of pro- and anti-SOPA frames for bias. While the probability of each event (type of frame—diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational; and pro- and anti-SOPA) arguably increases linearly with message size, the joint probability of all events occurring increases nonlinearly, always below the minimum probability of the individual events that are required to occur jointly, as depicted in Figure H1. So a linear increase in the frame restriction metrics would be misleading.

To assess the robustness of our assessment of frames restrictions to message size, we subjected our Twitter and YouTube data to additional analyses. For our Twitter data, we drew random samples of 50 sequential tweets (i.e., random start followed by the next 49 tweets, sorted by date) from the 20 most prolific authors in the Twitter discourse. We chose sequential tweets to approximate a contiguous thought or message. The average size of these blocks of 50 tweets was 784 words, which was somewhat more than the average of 689 words on newspapers.² We coded these message blocks for the presence of pro- and anti-SOPA diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames and then ascertained the comprehensiveness and bias within the 50-tweet block for each of the 20 authors.

²Deleting the first six tweets from each block reduced the average word count to 691; deleting the last six reduced it to 686; neither deletion changed the proportion of blocks displaying frame comprehensiveness or balance.

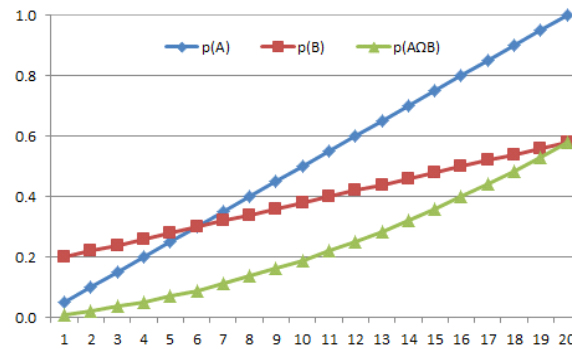


Figure H1. Increases in Joint Probabilities in Relation to Individual Probabilities

Table H1. Comprehensiveness and Balance Restrictions Adjusting for Word Count

Media	Lean	Rich	Difference
Traditional	NEWSPAPER p(comprehensiveness) = 0.12 p(balance) = 0.64***	TELEVISION p(comprehensiveness) = 0.04 p(balance) = 0.76***	z(comprehensiveness) = 1.47* z(balance) = 1.46*
Social	TWITTER p(comprehensiveness) = 0.95*** p(balance) = 0.15*	YOUTUBE p(comprehensiveness) = 0.45*** p(balance) = 0.31***	z(comprehensiveness) = 6.42*** z(balance) = 1.64*
Difference	z(comprehensiveness) = 13.50*** z(balance) = 5.04***	z(comprehensiveness) = 5.67*** z(balance) = 1.76*	

* $p < 0.100$; ** $p < 0.010$; *** $p < 0.001$; two-tailed tests

$n = 75, 25, 20$, and 67 for newspaper, television, Twitter, and YouTube respectively

For YouTube, to obtain an average word count comparable to that occurring on television, we restricted the sample to the 67 longest videos. This yielded an average word count of 997 words for this sample of longer videos, which was equal to the average word count for television messages. In Table H1, we compare comprehensiveness and balance restrictions based on these social media subsamples, which account for message length. This shows that adjusting for word count does increase comprehensiveness estimates across both social media, rendering Twitter messages significantly more comprehensive than newspaper messages. YouTube messages were more comprehensive than television messages before adjusting for word counts. However, while the adjustment attenuated the appearance of bias to some extent, social media messages remained significantly less balanced than traditional media messages. Frame restrictiveness in terms of frame bias, therefore, is robust to message length.

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